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EVOLUTION
OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
IN
INDIA

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL
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PATTUKKOTTAI
RURAL EXTENSION TRAINING CENTRE

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(REVISED EDITION)

MINISTRY OF
FOOD, AGRICULTURE, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION
(Department of Community Development)

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FOREWORD

The Community Development Programme launched by India on Gandhiji's birthday in October, 1952, has grown today, in the words of the U. N. Evaluation Commission, into "one of the major experiments of the twentieth century whose results are of world-wide interest". The workers who have been mobilised for this gigantic effort, from the peasants in the field and the V. L. Ws. in blocks to the planners of the programme in the States and the Centre can be legitimately proud of the progress that has been made in about thirteen years which, after all, is a short period in the life of a nation. But this legitimate pride should not make us forget the pioneers in whose idealism and practical sagacity lay hidden many of the germinal suggestions which have yielded so bountiful a harvest today. This work is thus essentially a continuation of past experiment and let us gratefully acknowledge it.

To the twenties of this century belong the experiments at Sriniketan, Martandam and Gurgaon. Inspired by a profound humanism, Tagore's experiment at Sriniketan was aimed at both the economic as well as the moral rehabilitation of the rural community. The cooperative village health societies of Sriniketan were also startling programmatic innovations when one considers their early date. In the rural reconstruction programme initiated by Spencer Hatch at Martandam and the Gurgaon experiment of F. L. Brayne the basic concept was the rehabilitation of the villager essentially by self-help, but with intimate expert counsel.

In the community development initiated in the Baroda State in the thirties by Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, the programme broadened out to take in wider horizons and involved improvement of all aspects of rural life, interlocking of agriculture and industry and the assumption of strategic functions by the Panchayat and Cooperative. In the Madras Firka Development Scheme of the late forties and the Etawah Project commenced in U.P. in 1948, concept and programme crystallised more or less in their present shapes. Emerging from this baptism of fire the movement blossomed into the original 15 pilot extension projects and has ultimately today broadened out to cover the whole of India.

Above all, we should recall the debt which the community development programme owes to the inspiring ideals and programmes of the

Father of the Nation. The movement was officially launched on Gandhiji's birthday in 1952. This is what he wrote in the *Harijan* ten years earlier in 1942. "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet inter-dependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus, every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and play-ground for adults and children......The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own water works ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks....As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis.....The government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat....Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom." As a part of his constructive programme, Gandhiji set up the All India Village Industries Association and promoted village industries like paddy-husking, gur-making, oil-crushing, spinning, weaving, manufacture of hand-made paper etc.

The community development programme has often been described as a silent but momentous revolution. This small book will help us to remember that the revolution is also an evolution, firmly linking the idealism of the pioneers of the past with the dedication of the workers of the present.

B. S. MURTHY

(Ex) Dy. Minister for Community Development, Panchayati Raj & Cooperation

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

AND

SRINIKETAN

LEONARD ELMHIRST

In 1890 Rabindranath Tagore, then aged 29, was sent to take charge of the family estate in East Bengal. He went to live at Shilaidah, and came, he said, for the first time into direct touch with the people of the villages, with their sufferings and with their many problems of cultivation, of credit and of marketing. There, too, he listened to their songs, their dramas and their festivals. But, he said, too often they came to him as Zemindar and landlord, or to the District Collector, like beggars, unable, seemingly, to stand on their own feet as free and independent individuals. This experience he never forgot. Ten years later, when he was nearing 40, he moved with his family from Calcutta to Santiniketan, to start his school there. From then on certain ideas were clearly engraved in his mind : to try to rescue children from some of the frustrations he had suffered as a boy in the name of education; to cultivate and develop the arts of life—poetry, song, drama, movement in dance and design; lastly, to discover, whether or not the Bengal villager could learn to stand upright upon his own sturdy feet and begin to solve at least some of his many problems for himself.

Early Experiments at Surul

For the latter purpose, he knew that appropriate land would be needed close to some village where studies could be made and science could be applied. Early in the century he purchased from Lord Sinha some twenty bighas of land, a mile to the west of Santiniketan and just outside the village of Surul. With it went the empty house of the former superintending engineer, with the derelict sheds to which the parts of the East India Railway engines were sent in the 1870's to be assembled. In those days, Surul had the reputation of being a health resort and free of the scourge of malaria. It was never so free again.

Tagore then looked around for someone to man his experiment. In turn, he sent his son, his adopted son and his son-in-law to colleges in America in the hope that they might one day take up residence on this farm and discover some way of approaching the root problem, as he saw it. of how to promote village self-help. For one reason or another the experiments tried out at Surul gave negative rather than positive results. Even these were of use. A further experiment was tried out at Surul, between 1920 and 1921, by a group of young men under the inspiration of C. F. Andrews. This again produced negative results. The whole team fell victim to a malignant form of malaria. The anxieties and suspicions of the

villagers around Surul, to which villagers the world over are prone when faced suddenly with a new idea or a demand for change, were not apparently lessened by these experiments.

Associated Tagore

In the Spring of 1921, two American friends, Mr. Sam Higginbottom and Mrs. W. V. Moody, told Tagore, whilst he was in America, of a young Englishman named Elmhirst, who was then studying agriculture and earning his living by part-time teaching at Cornell University. They said they knew that, although he had his M.A. in History from Cambridge University, he was anxious to return to India and study its village problems at first hand.

I remember well the morning in the Spring of 1921 when a telegram reached me at Ithaca, signed Tagore, which read, COME AND SEE ME IN NEW YORK. I had always been excited by what I had read of Santiniketan and of Tagore, and had hoped, when I was in India between 1915 and 1918, to visit the school. I made a hurried journey to New York, and shall never forget the friendly welcome I received. "I have," said Tagore, "an institution of learning and the Arts at Santiniketan which is mainly academic. It is surrounded by villages, some Hindu, some Muslim, some Santal, but all are decaying; all had an ancient culture, but today they appear sick. They are dying. Will you come and help me to find out why? Would you be prepared to go and live in a village ? You would like to consider it ? Then how about sailing back with me tomorrow ?" "But," said I, "if I am really to be of any use to you, I must first finish my course at Cornell."

Immediately on my return to England in August 1921, I cabled Tagore, CAN I COME. I received a message in return, signed by Charlie Andrews, DONT COME NO FUNDS AVAILABLE. Luckily, Willie Pearson was on leave from the school at Santiniketan, where he was teaching, and at his home in Manchester. I went there to consult him, and together we composed the following cable, FUNDS AVAILABLE CAN I COME, to which the answer came back, DELIGHTED COME RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

I arrived at Santiniketan on 28th November 1921, and was immediately taken to see Tagore. The gist of his welcome was as follows. "I have talked to our college students. Ten of them say they would like to leave the college department right away and learn to be farmers. Three members of my staff, too, who have not lately become involved in politics, are also anxious to help. So is my son, who was trained as an engineer. The farm at Surul is there. How soon can you start ?"

I asked for time to visit agricultural training centres in India, to gather equipment and to learn Bengali.

"Visits you must make," said Tagore, "equipment you must get, but why learn Bengali ? Our students all know English, so do the staff. Once you have learnt Bengali, you will make the same mistake that so many missionaries have made. You will go out and visit villages alone. I hope you will never visit a village alone, or ask

questions of villagers without using a member of your staff or one of your students as an interpreter. The task of getting to know and to understand the village and its people must be carried out by Indians, but from you and other visitors they should learn what kind of questions to ask and how to ask them."

I started out immediately on my visits and went to Allahabad to see Sam Higginbottom. There I bought a he-goat, and persuaded the guard of the train to call it a dog and let me bring it home in the dog box and on a dog's ticket. I made purchases with the help and advice of Rabindranath Tagore, Kalimohan Ghose, Gour Gopal Ghose, Suren Kor, and Santosh Majumdar. Little did I realize then with what respect and affection I should come to regard these devoted advisers. I also took my regular lessons in Bengali from Boroma, the daughter-in-law of Dwijendranath Tagore, who is still alive. The lessons were soon to be cut short.

The Sriniketan Experiment

Early in January 1922, Tagore sent for me. "Stop your Bengali lessons," he said. "How soon can you, with your staff and students, move to Surul ?" Three weeks later, on 5th February, we loaded our Ford lorry with cooking pots and set off for Surul, camping out in the old engineer's house, myself on the roof, staff on the ground floor, students one floor up. That afternoon we dug trenches and fixed up latrines with buckets, not too far from the well round which boys and staff took their morning bath. "But where," said the boys, "is the sweeper who will empty the latrine buckets ?" Three of them were Brahmins. "Don't worry, there will be a sweeper in the morning," I said. The following morning whilst they were taking their baths they caught sight of me emptying the buckets. Three boys and Alu Roy, our celebrated lorry driver, immediately ran to assist. "If this is to be part of the training," they said, "can we not do it for ourselves from now on ?" It was three months before the resistance of the last Brahmin boy broke down. From then on there were few jobs of the meanest or toughest kind that these boys would not tackle readily.

For a time I saw little of Tagore. One or other of the staff kept him in touch. They told me, the same week we set out, that they had found him digging a trench in his garden and emptying his own bucket of waste matter into it. Turning over his letter, I find in one of them, dated 31st March, 1922, the following :—

> "Every day I am getting more and more envious of your Swaraj at Surul, especially when I hear of your hens contributing their dues to the Commonwealth. Plato had no place for poets in his Republic......I wish I were young enough to be able to join you and perform the meanest work that can be done in your place, thus getting rid of that filmy web of respectability that shuts me off from intimate touch with Mother Dust. It is something unclean like prudery itself to have to ask a sweeper to serve that deity who is in charge of the primal cradle of life."

Social Walls—A Big Problem

There were many obstacles, due either to caste or to the workings of an out-dated caste system, that we found hampering to any idea of change in village life. Tagore had this same subject in mind two years later, when he said to me :—

> "In India, the real cause of the weakness that cripples our spirit of freedom arises from the impregnable social walls we raise between the different castes. These check the natural flow of fellow-feeling among the people who live in our country. The law of love and of mutual respect has been ignored for the sake of retaining an artificial order. This only serves to promote a sense of degeneracy and of defeat. The people of India in this way have built their own cage. But by trying to secure freedom from one another, they only succeed in keeping themselves eternally captive."

But, though the students were soon hard at work, we all knew that the stiffest job had yet to be faced. For years centuries perhaps, farmers, tenants, landless labourers and craftsmen had been accustomed, in time of need, to turn to some local father figure, rajah,
accustomed, in time of need, to turn to some local father figure, rajah,
this problem in our discussions in December. I quote here from my diary, written at the time :

> "Tagore said that, though a zemindar, he had, when living at *Shilaidah*, himself urged his own ryots to rise and strike a blow for themselves and had told them that, if they did not, there was little hope for them. He prophesied that from the first we were likely to arouse a variety of bitter opposition and to discover every kind of petty oppression of one group by another." The first reaction to us as newly arrived residents in the countryside was inevitably one of fear and suspicion. "Are you a tax official come to raise our rents, or a missionary sent to break up our homes ?" I remember being asked, as far back as 1918, on visiting a village in the Deccan. The second reaction of the village was also a natural one. "If these people have money to spend, what kind of flattery or bribe or foolish response from us do they want so that we may benefit ? If this man is not an oppressor, then he must be a fool. How big a fool ?"

Contact with Village

Our problem was, therefore, first to make a definite contact with a village, any village, then to prove that we were not oppressors, and then to show that we were not fools. We had to convince them that we had one chief object, to prove to them, after winning their respect, that there were quite a number of ways in which they could, by helping themselves, keep and increase their own self-respect and slowly achieve a new and more potent command over their generally tragic and poverty-stricken environment.

From the outset, Kalimohan Ghose, who had had wide experience in East Bengal, was our chief interpreter and contact-maker with the village. He laid the foundation for all our work with the village.

From his first contact, he nearly always managed to convey to the village the feeling of having an immense respect for the simplest individual, man or woman, boy or girl, as if he knew there was something he wanted to learn from each one of them. His obvious capacity to respect seemed so easily to win respect in return. The going in the beginning was often discouraging and certainly tough. Try as we did to remain friends with the local zemindars, their suspicions and fears were constantly aroused.

There was a riot in a village one day. The injured were brought in to us to be given first aid. Could we come and visit a sick woman in the village ? She was treated by me in somewhat amateur fashion and, luckily, recovered. Sitting with the elders afterwards, we asked if we might collect their boys and teach them some games. No ! Even the little boys were really too busy herding the village cattle, and, anyhow, if we got hold of them we would probably drill them and they would soon be sent off to Mesopotamia, as in World War I. We might teach them a few games in the evening, but no drill ! Could we, on the other hand, come and shoot the monkeys in the village, that were doing so much damage to their crops ? We responded. "Would you pay for the cartridges ?" After some discussion, for these were Hindu cultivators, they answered, "Yes, for either we or the monkeys must leave the village". Then a terrible day came when a spark set the roofs of half the houses in the village on fire. Two days later, we visited the village and called out their boys and rehearsed them as a fire brigade. "Let's have a real fire and see what they do," said the elders. 'We'll supply some straw, and see whether they can put it out." Some straw was brought, tied up a tree and lit, the alarm gong was rung, bucket teams ran to the site and had the fire out in five minutes. The greybeards gathered. "Sir," they said to Kalimohan, "We apologize. We see the use of your fire drill. We old men will now drill for you, if you agree, and see whether we can do as well as the boys." They repeated the drill, but took two minutes longer than the boys. "And who," we asked, "will captain your fire brigade ?" "This man," they said. "Then," we answered, "he must have charge, at his house, of buckets, ladder, gong and fire hooks." "No," they answered, "this man is the most courageous of us all when a fire breaks out, but, when there is no fire, he will probably use the buckets on his farm, and they will never be in place when needed. That is the man, over there, whom we can absolutely trust with the buckets." And so it was arranged. After that, we were left much more free to come and go in the village, and to ask questions. We were even encouraged to spend more time with the boys, and, somewhat, later, with the girls as well.

I was still too busy to see much of Tagore, but staff and boys, I later realized, kept him in touch with our progress every step of the way, and far more closely than I realized at the time.

It was Tagore who emphasized to us the major role the boys and girls could play in the village once they were stirred by an education built around their own need to grow, to imagine, and to explore. The indirect effect of their activity upon the age-long customs and attitudes of their parents might be revolutionary. The parents might

be won from a negative defeatism and dependancy to a positive pride in the achievement of their children, and so to applying self-helf to themselves, provided their confidence in us was retained.

Tagore and Rural Reconstruction

It was Tagore who encouraged more and more survey and investigation not for its own sake by theorists, but directed all the time towards specific problems. Science was to be our servant, never our master. Ten years later, he confirmed this view in a letter which illustrated how deeply implicated he felt in every aspect of the progress of Sriniketan. "It is true," he writes, "that when Mr. X first came to us I assured him of a complete freedom about the work which he was going to take in hand. I also had the idea that it should be something comprehensive and not fractional. It may seem foolish of me to anticipate, but I am sure that you know that this is how I always welcome all the workers who come to me and express their willingness to offer their service for the love of the cause. It does not mean that we have things ready for them like a cage for the bird, that they should have to win themselves the seat which is their own, through patience and perseverance, through establishing mutual understanding among their colleagues and firm faith in the institution in spite of obstructions and inefficiencies that are often inevitable. If they fail then they should not begin to accuse everybody else but themselves for choosing the particular path which must have been foreign to them. You know you had from me the same unstinted welcome yourselves when you first came to me as a stranger. Your path was not too smooth and there were factors that were obdurately obstructive. You won your place and justified my trust in you. You won it through your power of vision, through a wisdom that was helped by imagination, that could see things in their totality and would not accept as final whatever was imperfect during its process of being."

"The ideal which I cherish in my heart for the work I have been struggling to build up through the best portion of my mature life, does not need qualifications that are divided into compartments. It was not the Kingdom of the Expert in the midst of the inept and ignorant which we wanted to establish although the experts' advice is valuable. The villages are waiting for the living touch of creative faith and not for the cold aloofness of science which uses efficiency machinery for extracting statistics, the statistics that deal with fragments of dissected life. I remember how you came fresh from your university and you were absurdly young, but you were not in the least academic or aridly intellectual. With your instinctive humanity you came into the closest touch with the living being which is the village, and which is not a mere intellectual problem that could be solved through the help of arithmetical figures. I have personal experience of scientists who think that they know human facts without taking the trouble to know the man himself. It is not for them to create and not even to construct, they never have done it, though they help. You had human sympathy in abundance which was the principal motive power that carried you across all the difficulties that stood against you in their congregated might. You rightly

named your work Village Reconstruction Work, for it was a living work comprehending, village life in all its various activities and not merely productive of analytic knowledge."

"A visitor may compare Sriniketan with other institutions of a similar nature in other big countries and, ashamed of the paltryness of our own efforts, may advise us to abandon it. This is like comparing the mothers of our country with those in the West, who possibly carry on their maternal duties more intelligently and with greater efficiency, and then to say that this mothers' business should be altogether given up in India. Yet mothers' love does work even in the East though not fully supplemented by medical science. The principal element is there. Similarly, the valuable gift of sympathy in some of our humble workers has worked a miracle which must not be contemptuously mentioned because it has neither been measured nor accurately recorded."

"The immense benefit realized by the surrounding villages through the constant inspiration of sympathy and encouragement of Sriniketan must never be belittled in favour of some impersonal abstractions of science, however valuable they may be. I, who am no scientist, set more value upon this human side of our service than anything which is academic. I can never believe that specialists are in their proper place at the head of organizations were constant co-ordination of human factors has to be made through personal contact and a wisdom born of sympathy. The function of specialists with their equipment for detailed analysis and statistics of facts should be to serve the makers of history, those guides and lovers of men who, possessing the gift of imaginative understanding, can vitalize knowledge and make it acceptable to others."

Formulating Approach

After only six months' work. Tagore asked us to try and formulate our findings, well before we had carried out any serious or prolonged investigation. "What would you put down today," he said, "as the chief obstacles to the villagers pulling themselves up out of their depression ?" "Monkeys," we said, "malaria and mutual mistrust. The monkeys eat the fruit and vegetables, dig up potatoes and destroy sugarcane and other crops. Only the rice is left and that is polished, so there is no vitamin in the village diet, almost no protein, and so no resistance to malaria at harvest time. The result is poverty, indebtedness and then fear of constant oppression by one group of another until co-operation for any constructive or common end has become almost impossible."

In those early days, we had thought that my newly gained agricultural science from the U.S.A. would be, of all our tools, the most useful. This was not by any means so, but the training in observation and in method of approach that I had learnt at Cornell was invaluable. Early on we did introduce new breeds of poultry and of cows, new vegetables and some new implements and manures but we had to learn to look at the villager and his problem as a whole and to be ready to attack whatever emergency arose, and not only the agricultural problems and crises.

In extending our approach to more villages it was through medicine and treatment that we found the readiest path to the hearts, affections and so to the confidence of the village. Our problem for some months was to find a professional doctor who was willing to reside with us and who could be counted upon not to despise and insult these simple and sometimes primitive village people. An American lady, Miss Gretchen Green, with considerable knowledge of nursing and first-aid, filled the gap for a time and opened our first clinic. Her services proved invaluable, for she too knew no Bengali, and each student in turn had to act for her as interpreter in the clinic at Sriniketan, and, in the village, some member of staff.

Co-operative Village Health Societies

But it was Kalimohan Ghose who, seeing what a powerful lever an economic and practical health service could be in winning the confidence of the villagers, able neither to pay for nor to obtain skilled medical assistance, adapted the method and approach of the Anti-malarial Co-operative Society of Bengal to the founding of Co-operative Village Health Societies. Most of the households in one village would at last agree to take out membership. The society could then pay for a resident compounder and for a limited amount of free treatment.

As more villages became interested in our programme, we were driven to explore the simplest and least expensive way of broadening our approach to the boys in each village. We had no money to pay teachers, but we thought that if one of our students could be trained as a Scout Leader, Baden Powell's Scouting system and principles could be adapted for village use. It was Dhirananda Roy and another old Santiniketan boy who were sent by Tagore to the Central Provinces for a special course for scoutmasters. Dhirananda then adapted his training, with great imagination, to the needs and problems of the village, so that the first troops of village Brati Balaks were organized, and our other students became Scoutmasters too. Later the girls were included as Balikas. These village boys learnt to grow vegetables, to put out fires, give first aid, act dramas, sing songs, play games and administer quinine "until the pill was seen absolutely to have been swallowed."

Was there opposition? Yes, from many directions at once, but gradually our staff, with our two Japanese carpenter-gardeners, was built up and learnt to work together. Problems were brought in from the farm, the village, the clinic and the bank, then as research and survey were set on foot, the results were fed back to the village or into the education of the village boys, who themselves, in later years, became village headmen.

Revival of Village Craft

We soon discovered that many of the traditional craftsmen we met were near starvation. Could they be brought in for special courses in new techniques; could they get credit and would they co-operate to obtain it? Who would help over marketing and the trying

out of new designs ? Nandalal Bose and his young artists from Kala-bhavan early on lent us a hand in this field. The muchis, the lac workers, the weavers, the carpenters, all came to Surul either to train or to work. Slowly workshops for training were set up, and later for production. The difficult problem of orderly marketing was left out, as it so often is, till much too late. How little we knew about it! We thought that goods well made should sell themselves, and did not realize how important it was to study consumer need and preference, and then to perfect every step and link in the chain of production from source of raw material to finished article.

True to his early and wise advice, Tagore pulled me away in 1923 to give the Indian staff of the young Institute a chance to find its own feet. It was as I travelled with him in Kathiawar, and later in China, Japan, Argentina and Italy, that we discussed so many different aspects of the work. In 1925 he agreed to release me so that I could marry Dorothy Payne Whitney Straight, who had financed the enterprise at Surul from the outset and who continued to do so until 1947. Nothing will illustrate better how deeply Tagore was implicated in Sriniketan than these extracts from his letters.

November 13, 1922—, "You know my heart is with Surul. I feel that it has life in it—it does not deal with abstractions, but has its roots deep in the heart of living reality. You may be absolutely certain that it will be able to weather all storms and spread its branches wide."

April 18, 1923—"The work in Surul is a work of creation, for in it you are not following some fixed path prescribed in books, but giving expression to your own creative personality to which even the opposition of obdurate materials ultimately brings help for shaping the structure."

Or again, June 25, 1924—"I believe I have the power of vision which seeks its realization in some concrete form. Unless our different works in Viswabharati are luminous with the fire of vision, I myself can have no place in them. This is why all the time when Sriniketan has been struggling to grow into a form I was intently wishing that it should not only have a shape, but also light; so that it might transcend its immediate limits of time, space and some special purpose...... A lighted lamp is, for us, the end, and not a lump of gold."

October 21, 1926—"Your spirit will still work in Surul, and I shall always remember you, not merely as a friend, but as a sharer in the intimacy of a conjoint creation. That it was possible for you to come to my side in the very beginning of your life's career was fortunate for me—for the old is old and the young is young, and it is very seldom the twain truly meet. But I am sure that we did meet......"

July 10, 1930—"We two were of unequal age, but I was not aware of the difference for a moment, and our companionship was so utterly simple and intimate. I think you are the only one who closely came to know me when I was young and old at the same time."

Tagore was convinced that a new kind of schooling for village children was essential, but that it must be based on the rich experience already gained. He had in the past encouraged Willie Pearson to start a school for the Santalis in the Santal village close to Santiniketan, but Pearson was dead. It was to Santose Majumdar that he handed over this project. The first handful of boys were orphans or in charge of local guardians, and when they came they were boarded at Majumdar's own house. They shared in all the tasks of home and garden, as had the earliest children in Tagore's own school.

Siksha Satra

Our achievements with the village boys and with those of Majumdar's group led to the establishment of a boarding school where village children came by the week. It was christened by Tagore, Siksha Satra. This was set up at Sriniketan, and still continues. It was especially designed for picked boys from sympathetic parents whose trust had been won by Sriniketan in the neighbouring villages. Tagore and the staff realize that unless the boys could get away from all the customary claims of home and village for five days in the week, there were definite limits to the progress they could make. The boys were carefully tested in the village, and came from homes where confidence had been won over many months of contact and collaboration. The boys arrived on Monday morning, each with his little sack of rice, enough for five days, and went home on Saturday.

At school they carried out a variety of duties, in dormitory, kitchen, garden, poultry-run and dairy. They learnt games, songs and plays, carpentry and some other craft, and their sums and writing were focussed on their daily experience. It was out of this training that Tagore's idea of an education basic to the needs of any child in a rural society grew. He would have liked girls also in Siksha Satra from the start, but village parents were not then willing to part with them. Tagore would allow the introduction of no special study or craft for reasons that did not seem to him fundamentally sound from an all-round educational point of view. Many a time he was pressed to include this or that craft or study for what he felt were unsound motives, sentimental, political, sectarian or economic. He would have none of them.

December 16, 1937—L. K. E. to Tagore on Primary Education :—

"Dhiren expressed to me, almost in Rathi's words, his feeling about the importance of primary education in India, and the need to base it on sound teacher training, such as he thought the new training school and Sriniketan, with Santiniketan close by, could give. Especially he feels that you have built an independent vantage ground between the new and the old government forces which exists nowhere else in India. He would like to devote himself entirely to the Guru Training School, Siksha Satra and Sriniketan."

December 19, 1937, Tagore to L.K.E.:—

"You know how for a long time I have been cherishing my hope of establishing an ideal centre of education at Sriniketan—

an ideal which is not curtailed to the strictest measure of a narrow village environment, which is not specially set apart to be doled out as a famine ration carefully calculated to be just good enough for an emaciated life and a dwarfed mentality. It is well known that the education which is prevalent in our country is extremely meagre in the spread of its area and barren in its quality. Unfortunately this is all that is available for us, and the artificial standard set up is proudly considered as respectable. Outside the *bhadralogue* class, pathetic in their struggle for fixing a university label on their name, there is a vast, obscure multitude who cannot even dream of such a costly ambition. With them we have our best opportunity if we know how to use it. There, and there only, can we be free to offer to our country the best kind of all-round culture, not mutilated by official dictators. I have generally noticed that when the charitably-minded, city-bred politicians talk of education for the village folk they mean a little left-over in the bottom of their cup after diluting it copiously. They are callously unmindful of the fact that the kind and the amount of the food that is needful for mental nourishment must not be apportioned differently according to the social status of those that receive it.

"I am, therefore, all the more keen that Siksha Satra should justify the ideal I have entrusted to it and should represent the most important function of Sriniketan in helping students for the attainment of manhood complete in all its various aspects. Our people need more than anything else a real scientific training that can inspire in them the courage of experiment and the initiative of mind which we lack as a nation. Sriniketan should be able to provide for its pupils an atmosphere of rational thinking and behaviour which alone can save them from stupid bigotry and moral cowardliness. I myself attach much more significance to the educational possibilities of Siksha Satra than to the school and college at Santiniketan, which are every day becoming more and more like so many schools and colleges elsewhere in this country's borrowed cages that treat the students' minds as captive birds whose sole human value is judged according to the mechanical repetition of lessons prescribed by an educational dispensation foreign to the soil. It would indeed give me great joy if Sriniketan could at last make use of its opportunities to realise my dream and I would welcome Dhiren with his vigorous masterfulness to rouse up Siksha Satra to a new course of fruitful adventure. In that case not only will he have my blessings but as much guidance as is possible for me to offer him with the last flicker of my life."

December 27, 1939, Tagore to L.K.E. :—

"My path, as you know, lies in the domain of quiet, integral action and thought, my units must be few and small, and I can but face human problems in relation to some basic village or cultural area. So in the midst of world-wide anguish, and with the problems of over three hundred millions staring us in the face, I stick to my work in Santiniketan and Sriniketan hoping that our efforts will touch the heart of our village neighbours and

help them in re-asserting themselves in a new social order. If we can give a start to a few villages they would perhaps be an inspiration to some others—and my life work will have been done."

Many of those early Siksha Satra students are the accepted leaders in their villages today.

As our experience of the problems grew, so did our need for specialist help and advice. Early on we engaged and added to the staff a manager for the experimental farm, Santose Bose. Our own dairy farmer, Santose Mitra, was an old Santiniketan-trained boy, a first-class worker and an artist, too. Our surveyor, Upen Babu, helped our first students to lay out, to build and to thatch with rice straw their own bungalows on their own one-tenth of an acre garden plots. Government trained specialists helped us with lessons to village leather workers and taught our own students modern tanning and leather work, as well as durree making and weaving. Dr. Harry Timbers, an American Quaker, volunteered to do fundamental research into the life, habits and control of the malarial mosquito. There was no DDT in those days, but year by year the incidence of malaria in the area fell in the face of a well-planned campaign. Later came studies in erosion control, in the planting and protection against goats and cattle of appropriate trees for fuel, as well as for timber.

Need for Study of Research

The struggle to achieve willing co-operation in simple ways, not involving money, was a long one. Faith in co-operative credit or money schemes had been in some measure destroyed before we arrived, so that it was a long time before the capacity for mutual trust developed to a stage where monetary contributions could be pooled and used for a common purpose, such as a health society, a village vermin-proof rice store, a marketing organization.

So often a direct attack on some problem failed for lack of the basic or pilot research, survey or investigation. Fish cultivation was a case in point. Protein foods were scarce, but derelict ponds or tanks there were in every village. Could they be surveyed, scientifically treated, stocked and managed as a co-operative enterprise ? In one village all the owners but one agreed. The method under skilled supervision could have been extended over a much wider area, but the local fishery officer, provided by the Government, was given no vehicle or travel allowance, and anyhow was tied too closely to his desk, filling forms and sending endless paper plans to headquarters, which were never implemented.

Along with the principle of training the boys and girls in ways that won the willing collaboration of the parents, we early found that the use for demonstration of one home or garden in a village, or of one farm in an area, or of one whole village in a district, was sound. Local demonstrations could then be staged by villagers themselves, with some help from outside. This was by far the better and quicker method than the setting up of state, District or Government demonstration farms of plots and less costly. Trying to prove

things on our own farm always aroused the criticism that our means were too ample or that our conditions must be different. For experiment however our farm was important, but it was not nearly so effective for demonstration.

In one village, after some trouble, we found a man to try out on his farm the growing of a new vegetable popular in Bolpur market. We supplied plants and instructions. Returning at harvest time, we could find no positive result at all. "But," said the villagers, "why did you choose Mr. A? He's always ready to try everything new, but he succeeds with nothing. Had you asked Mr. B, our best cultivator in this village, you'd have had some very different and positive results."

Integrated Approach—the only solution

Results, notable results, were achieved in a small area and in a few villages. Economic returns were such that the rising standard of living in the area was very noticeable. New confidence arose among these villagers. They felt able to tackle new things, to defeat pessimism and to achieve results together. But time and again the problems were such that, without much more university research on the one hand, whether scientific, economic or sociological, and without more intimate contact between us and government officials, and between officials and villagers at village level, on the other, there could be no progress over the wider areas around us. We knew we were not equipped either with means or men to tackle them ourselves. When and if we attempted half measures, both we and the village would get discouraged.

Tagore's idea was always to illustrate a few basic principles by winning the confidence of a few villagers at first. Once the villagers found that they could stand on their own feet, once they had confidence in their power to progress, they were more able to say just when they needed professional guidance, even though we were not always equipped to give it.

The trouble was so often that professional guidance was not available from anywhere, that the basic research had not been done, and that pilot experiments in the application of results had not been carried out. More trained men and women were essential, but when available they were liable to demand the market rate of salary. Tagore's university could not afford to pay such salaries. Nor could his low paid school and college teachers always see why highly trained specialists were needed, and, if obtained, why they should command higher salaries than Viswabharati generally offered. Over and over again, some cheap compromise was attempted, but this never really worked.

Another major difficulty was that, from 1920 on, the government machine under the British tended to work on a mechanical routine on a day-to-day basis, with much form filling. The idea that local government should take a share in rural development and show some responsibility for rural welfare was a new one and not generally accepted in Secretariats. So many of the rural problems we

uncovered needed understanding from officials who had little or no experience in sitting down with village people in order to get at the root of the trouble. The collection of revenue and the administration of justice, although necessary in themselves, occupied too great a proportion of their main energies. Universities working for years inside closed walls tend, too, to suspect demands for studies out in the field and for village contacts in areas far beyond their immediate control. Tagore recognized that some half-way house, some kind of rural institute, was needed that could be attached to a university, but yet not be entirely under its academic control, that could be in intimate touch with the village yet have its connection with all relevant government agencies, but not be operated as part of a routine civil service machine.

I have tried to indicate how Tagore's ideas and influence inspired and penetrated every corner of the Sriniketan enterprise. But it would be unfair if the impression given was that too much of his concern was with the day-to-day problems of an infant institution. Constantly he used to remind us that our practical achievements, our clean milk, our fresh eggs, our flourishing co-operatives, were all useful means, but still only means, towards the achievement of much greater ends. From the earliest days he would urge upon us to draw upon all the resources, in music, song, drama and dance, at Santiniketan, so as to enrich our lives, to liven our aspirations, to inspire our leisure and to increase our delights in every kind of artistic expression, until we and the cultivators could produce a richness and a wealth of cultural life of our own, and a rejuvenation of those ancient act forms that still survived, but so tenuously, in the villages around us.

In conclusion, I would say that in the last letter he ever wrote to me, of June 2, 1940, he gave a most fitting expression of his faith, in the following **words:—**

> "I often dream of those days when both of us sailed together great seas and found warm access to the hearts of strangers..... History has waited long for a perfect renewal of spirit, through the elimination of short-sighted nationalism. Fresh equipment is needed for the exploration of a further uncharted height for humanity to reach. I have come to that age when, in my dreams, I nourish my faith in the last survival value of friendship, of love and of the spirit of co-operation fed by the constant delight of sacrifice. Nations decay and die when they betray their trust—but long live Man."

*EARLY TIMES
AT THE MARTANDAM PROJECT

DR. SPENCER HATCH

During the first quarter of the century, a realization and appreciation of the fact that India was essentially a rural country, was growing among the Indian leaders. As they voiced this, it sounded almost like a discovery. If the poverty of India's three hundred and seventy millions of people was to be relieved, more attention had to be given to rural areas where most of the people lived. K. T. Paul, first Indian General Secretary of the National Council of YMCAs, India, Burma, and Ceylon, was one of the leaders who faced the displeasure of the government by charging that it was putting too large a percentage of its resources of staff and money into a few large cities, and neglecting the rural areas. Mr. Paul likewise regretted that his own organization, the YMCA, centred its work almost entirely in cities. He set about to change this.

This was the situation I found when I arrived in India, 1921, with my bride, Emily Gilchrist, for permanent service with the YMCA. Mr. Paul told us he wanted to locate us in Travancore and Cochin States for several logical reasons. First, my own background of youth spent on a stoney farm in Northern New York where real effort, ingenuity, and science had been necessary to earn our livelihood, was an asset for working with poor rural people anywhere. Second, my education at Cornell University, College of Agriculture, majoring in Sociology, and my three years experience in relief and education services with expeditionary forces on the North-West Frontier of India, in Waziristan and in Mesopotamia, provided me with some of the fundamental knowledge needed.

K. T. Paul had told us that in Travancore and Cochin there were about a hundred village associations of rural people who had banded themselves together to work for the good of their communities. In each place honorary officers led in various activities. No one received any pay. They worked in their spare time, and accomplished a great deal. These so-called village YMCAs needed guidance, training, and a more rounded, balanced, programme of work: a challenging job in itself.

A demonstration centre, established and functioning in the midst of a rural area from which the people of villages around could learn was another idea which Mr. Paul presented. The people need to learn and to adopt better methods. They needed to improve their land, livestock, and every phase of living.

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*The Oxford University Press has published three books by Dr. Spencer Hatch, which give fuller account of the Martandam Project : *Up From Poverty in Rural India*; *Further Upward in Rural India*; and Toward Freedom From Want. The incidents philosophy, principles, policies and methodology mentioned in this note are elaborated in those books.

Selection of the Site

Then we set out to find the best place for a Rural Development Centre. We wanted a Centre in the midst of a well populated area, easily accessible to all the people in the area; on a good road to facilitate marketing of produce; reached by bus as transportation would be a problem at or near a natural gathering centre, such as a marketplace; in a poor area. Martandam, South Travancore, was just such a place. Densely populated it was the marketplace for the forty surrounding villages within a radius of three miles. People were very poor, the land pretty well worn out. A really hungry man is of all men most interested in something to eat; it seemed we could expect active response to a programme which could promise better living.

The people were of many castes and creeds. We would hope they would all join in a united programme and all benefits, for learning to work together for the common good was essential. The area was fully rural, yet only twenty-three miles from Travancore's capital city with which our work could have many useful connections. Still another reason for selecting Martandam was that S. Manuel, a National Council YMCA Secretary, had for seven years been helping the people successfully to establish cooperative credit societies. These would fit into a new programme. The spirit of honorary service was strong: several of the rural YMCAs in villages around had memberships of willing workers. The clinching argument in the selection of the half-acre and little old house was the government High School next door. Boys and girls came walking to it from eight miles around. To be at the centre of the educational life of the young people was a real advantage.

Relieving intensive work to be more effective, we decided to concentrate our main programme within a radius of three miles from the Centre. We found the people were not very definite in their knowledge about their surroundings or resources, or able to analyse their knowledge of themselves and their situation. We and our honorary workers needed much more exact knowledge of the area to enable us to apply ourselves to help answer the needs through methods suited to local conditions. We set up a three mile radius survey. There were just over thirty thousand Hindus, about ten thousand Christians, six hundred Mohammedans, and one thousand others. It would not be easy to bring these into a programme for mutual improvement. Habits and customs were a precedence against this. The Christians were divided into various denominations; the Hindus into castes; the Mohammedans seemed isolated from both. For their worship, this mixed population of 44,829 religiously inclined persons attended thirteen Hindu temples, eighteen churches, and thirteen Mohammedan mosques.

Literacy Drive—the first priority

The educational status of the people and extent of literacy would affect our programme. Although Travancore led India in literacy and education, particularly of women, we found that only one person

out of seven could read, but we could work with an available thirty-six elementary schools with 5,282 pupils, and one hundred and eighty-six teachers: with the 560 pupils and teachers of the adjacent English High School. Among them we found enthusiastic, efficient colleagues to help us teach the 37,000 unschooled in our three-mile area. Night schools could cater both for adults who never had school and for boys and girls who had to work daytimes or were too poor to pay the day school fees. Education was not free. Night schools could supplement and available academic curricula of the regular schools. What was taught in the schools was not well related to the local life of pupils or parents, so there was an obvious need of all-round rural education for everybody.

The only common meeting places besides the markets were drinking places: eight toddy shops and four arrack shops conveniently spotted over a small area and too well patronized. Some form of social centre which could be a common meeting place was indicated. The large central weekly marketplace and the smaller daily market centres were of immense significance to us. These primitive institutions were important both sociologically and economically. The marketplace itself was just a barren field six days a week, then on market day blossomed into a thriving, bustling noisy trade centre. As many as 5,000 people would come bringing whatever they had to sell. They would buy, sell, or barter. Here was a place for meeting, demonstrating, and teaching many people whom we might never be able to reach otherwise. Our area offered eleven regular marketplaces, meeting on different regular days. We joined the market throng with our portable tent, where we set up teaching equipment and exhibited the better poultry and livestock. This method became an effective part of our educational programme.

Improving the Cottage and Spare-time Industries

Our survey revealed how few were the existing cottage or spare-time industries, and how poor quality of the products, and how pitifully poor was the daily wage. We learned that whole families existed on less than five annas (ten cents) a day. The 1,938 cows in this small area constituted the cow tragedy, hardly any looked as though they could give milk. The average yield of a milking cow was two pounds of milk a day for a short lactation period. Working cattle were underfed, poor, and weak. Poultry consisted of the long-since tamed but still unimproved Indian Jungle Fowl; a few hens running around the average house with often about as many scrawny cocks. The hens were badly cared for, insufficiently fed, and laid but a few very small eggs. There were wild bees, *"Apic indica."* A few people put old cooking pots in the trees to attract the bees to make homes in them. From the number of wild bees around, we anticipated that bee-keeping could be a profitable cottage industry.

Agriculture stood in great need. Two monsoons brought around forty inches of rain but all within short periods. Water was a problem, too much or too little. More crops, tools, seeds and methods were needed. The whole economic set-up needed study and bettering. Debt was prevalent. Interest rates soared as high as 300 per

cent. Health needed attention: expectancy of life was only 27 years; infant mortality was high.

Our first general survey gave us enough information to start a programme, but it became necessary to make more intensive surveys of typical single villages. The knowledge gained in these surveys gave us invaluable guidance and served as a training method for local groups to analyse their own situations and for students who were soon to come.

The Demonstration Centre

The Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre was opened. Work along several lines was soon established. We bore in mind K.T. Paul's first assignment to guide the small associations into wider activities and took the necessary steps to see that our Centre was an example. Those villages where some organisation was functioning invited us to help them plan further activities. We were so constantly being drawn from the Centre that we had to make it a rule not to go out to start an organisation but only to help the villagers develop the activities they had already organised and in which they were interested enough to work. In this development of our work in the Centre area we discovered two important facts: one, we were actually establishing an extension area serving out from an increasingly active Demonstration Centre; two, a splendid network of associations offered a common platform tied neither to caste or creed on which the many ready workers in the villages were willing to cooperate. It was then that an expansion of the old YMCA triangle programme—Spirit, Mind, Body—became necessary. We added an economic side and a social side for people must earn more and must work together. The Martandam five-sided Programme developed under the emblem "The 5-Sided Triangle".

Legs for the demonstration centre's teaching—A full-fledged extension service meant a new colleague. Manuel was freed to continue his work among the villagers an Extension Secretary, and J. Jesudas was recruited to take charge of the Demonstration Centre. Both men were devoted to the work, untiring in their efforts and contributed in a large measure to its success. New ideas kept us busy and new events forced us to change our plans. We were determined to keep the three-mile radius for intensive work. But what to do about an especially alert and active village, seventeen miles away ? How could we turn away a young leader who travelled over two hundred miles ? The radius did not lengthen but certainly there were continued outreaches from the Centre far longer than three miles. We modified our plans to *reach out along lines of interest.*

It seemed impossible to add more sections to our work, but we did. Organised night schools in the villages, week-end sessions in the villages played a valuable part. We felt we could not house nor feed nor direct studies for numbers of mature men and women from other parts of India who begged to come to work and learn by doing. We were forced by persistent demands to take such leaders.

Pillars of Policy

We had developed our early ideas of rural reconstruction into a definite philosophy. Out of the very work itself came principles, for certainly when a problem reaches immediately concerned with it organised to face the problem, the seeds of solution are found with it. As the work grew and spread it became increasingly necessary to state our principles simple and easily. We called them Pillars of Policy. They grew from the work. How tried and true they were has been usefully applied and adapted over India, in Ceylon, in Burma, in China, in Egypt, in Mexico and Latin America, in the Mid-East and in Indonesia, wherever our students have carried on village work.

Building on what the village and the people have—We called our new movement "Rural Reconstruction", a name coined and proposed by K. T. Paul. There was policy in the name. He said it meant that we were to use all of the good things in the Indian village life, add to them, help the people to work them into a glorious institution for more abundant living. The term caught fire and spread rapidly. Within a short time there were courses in rural reconstruction being taught as far away as Chinese Universities.

Make certain the programme is the people's own—We were invited again and again to village after village to discuss with the people plans of work to help them clarify their ideas on the work they wanted to do. The ideas were theirs, the programmes they developed were their own, and it followed naturally that they accepted responsibility for carrying them out. We could help them, and did, whenever we were asked. Here lay a fundamental factor for success. All over the area village groups were really excited about their various projects. They worked with untiring devotion. How futile it would have been for us to go about on the basis of doing things for these thirty-seven thousands of people in their great needs.

Help the people to help themselves upwards on all sides of life—We coined the phrase "*self-help with intimate expert counsel*". This formula has stood the test of years, in the several countries where we have worked. This intimate counsel by those of us who had had many educational advantages was brotherly and sympathetic, lacking any touch of superiority. This attitude put us on a common basis where we felt free to ask questions or analyse situations frankly. It enabled the people to incorporate into their programmes whatever they felt was useful of the things we had to teach. The process was slow but democratic, and the results lasting.

Include all the people—Too many kinds of communal organisations were in evidence. People of different religions, groups, castes, or conditions of life tended to work separately. Even the state co-operative system was set up on a communal basis; the Brahmins, the Nairs, the Mohammedans, the Christians, all had their own closed societies. To change this required new understanding and a changed attitude. We opened our societies to every honest person regardless of caste or religion. In time the State Co-operative

Department changed its policy and declared against communal societies. On committees all were represented. Membership of all our classes and in all phases of the work was open to all. United, the people in a village could accomplish large projects which no group could ever do alone.

Reach the poorest—Most philanthropy stopped before it reached the poorest. Some even thought the poorest were hardly worth the trouble. Economists and students of the Co-operative Movement like Jack, Slater, Mann, and Darling had declared that it would take centuries for the co-operative movement to reach the bulk of the people. The regular stereotyped co-operative society did not reach or help the poorest people for they were too poor to meet the requirements. We made character the basis for membership and proved it could be good business to loan to a penniless man thus making provision for those who needed help the most. Even then we found our programme would stop just short of the poorest unless we gave a lot of personal attention to see that it did not. Schemes of participation in various project for those who had no money at all did not pauperize them. The loan had to be one which could produce profits. We charged such persons on the book for White Leghorn eggs and took our pay later in chickens, or charged for a bee hive and took our pay in honey. We could reach the poorest if we wanted to and all of us tried.

Maintain a comprehensive programme—We came to realize that especially in the next years the average village family could not have enough of any one single crop or industry or be expert enough in any one to make it his only source of income. Indeed we advise against trying to start with a large business as a large poultry farm. While he was learning or failed, with smaller ventures which could be more readily controlled, it was better for a family to have several income sources. So, besides teaching better culture of the land, we taught many cottage industries. A family could choose several to their liking.

Poultry-keeping with better fowls, produced by crossing the little jungle hens with White Leghorn cocks which I imported from New Jersey became an important and popular source of income. With many more and larger eggs, better marketing became essential. We established the first system in India of testing eggs for freshness and grading for size, A and B. Only an improved country hen could lay an A or B sized egg. The little C size eggs went to the market at the regular local price, less than half the price for the A and B. This was an effective inducement for hundred of villagers to ask for pure bred cocks to breed up their flocks. The cock circuit became an established method. Cocks were moved every two months to the next in line.

The villages formed their Martandam Co-operative Egg Marketing Society the first such in India. It was very much their own: the members saw every egg weighed on an accurate little scale and tested for freshness by the slow but purely scientific emersion in a glass dish of water; they themselves packed and shipped the large baskets. We could judge the spread of the breeding programme

by driving along the different country roads and noted the white feathers in family flocks. The local fowls had no white on them until the White Leghorn invasion. We travelled all over South India to find appreciative customers for our double priced fresh eggs. The Co-operative Egg Market continues to this day to bring substantial benefits to great numbers of rural people. We taught this system to trainees from India, Burma, and Ceylon.

Another new benefit and source of income was from bee-keeping. Our young colleagues became very proficient in transferring the small *apis indica* from old pots, sides of houses, hollow trees, and caves into movable-frame hives. The India bees were poor producers. I brought colonies of *apis malifera* bees from Italy. These never became acclimated; but through study of them we learned how to induce the Indian bees to work better. The indica were sensible bees: they did not work hard to store a large surplus because they could get food any season of the year. A surplus was necessary for successful bee-keeping honey enough for the bees for food and plenty for the keeper to extract. Although these bees never planned to have much surplus, we found they were unhappy without any honey; by the simple device of extracting all the honey from the combs often and putting them back empty, we completely changed the mind-set of the bees about working. After each extraction they would work very hard and fast to fill the emptied combs. Bee-keeping, like poultry-keeping, had a phenomenal spread over the area and beyond. Soon the Bee-keepers' Co-operative was formed for the sale of their products.

Other cottage industries added their benefits: improved pineapples, garden products, milk from improved Surati goats and the much improved cows sired by our Schindi breeding bulls, mats and baskets, refined palmyra sugar, and hand-woven cloth products. By improving the quality of the articles and introducing better marketing practices, all products brought better prices. Hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, were involved in home production of commodities which were demonstrated and taught at the Centre.

Refuse to be rolling stones or emergency kits—It was evident that such fundamental social and economic changes could not be accomplished in a day. We had to stay with the work, but it seemed a struggle to dose. The custom of frequent transfers was deeply rooted in India. Some organisations tried to cover large areas by moving their personnel often. This tendency toward too short assignments for technicians or educators is still a great weakness. It was always so easy to start things in India, but the mortality of things started was high. We consistently refused to go about starting new Centres. It was natural for various parts of India to feel that we were remaining at Martandam a long time when they had no Rural Reconstruction assistance at all.

Emily and I stayed with Martandam eighteen years until we went on furlough to America and passport authorities would not allow us to travel back with our daughters during the war.* We

*We were sent to help similar work beyond the roads in Mexico.

had always wanted and expected to return there. We knew each development would bring new problems which must be worked out. The first stages were important but it seemed that the second and third and fourth stages would need even more attention. Manuel and Jesudas and our younger colleagues stayed with the work. Manuel has retired, Jesudas has died; most of the others are still there carrying on well.

The spiritual basis—Psychologists, philosophers, and sociologists who wrote on leadership seemed not to include spirituality as an attribute necessary for leadership. Nothing was more evident than that it must be the foundation of our programme here in India. The deep spirituality of the Indian people demanded this. Indeed the spiritual basis should undergird any work anywhere in the world if its good influence is long to endure. As we look back to the early years at Martandam I am sure that to all of us, staff, honorary workers, and trainees, Hindus, Budhists, Muslims, and Christians, nothing stands out more pleasantly or as of more importance than the morning and evening periods of united worship and the strength we gained for going ahead with the work and study.

Keep simplicity the key-note—Through those years of working, it was continuously borne in upon us that unless the whole rural reconstruction movement remained simple it would cost too much and perforce would stop short of benefits to millions of rural people. If we were not willing to live simply our personal budget would absorb all the funds. We had to recruit workers who were rich in the things they could do without, younger men who had not acquired expensive ways of living. With coats off we could work better and did not have to buy coats. Classroom benches could just as well be cheap floor mats, made by the local people. Martandam demonstrated the possibility of a widespread work without owning or constructing a single building of any size. Its staff travelled on bicycles, buses, and on foot. The Schindi breeding bull, drawing the two wheeled cart, brought the teaching supplies and equipment to the villages, at the same time providing his own advertisement. Gandhi's teaching and example helped us greatly in our campaign to glorify the necessary principle of simplicity.

Honorary, unpaid service—This is a need in every country. It was demonstrated there in our Rural Reconstruction Movement to a greater degree than I have seen it in any other country. By 1940, we had in our extension service in Travancore and Cochin States, 1,300 devoted, unpaid workers, every one of whom gave a substantial part of his or her time. Not only were these workers willing to work for nothing: they took every opportunity to attend summer school and night schools and conferences at their own expense to learn to work even better for nothing. Everyone must realize that honorary unpaid service was another basic reason for the success of the early Rural Reconstruction Movement. It helped make an efficient and highly productive extension service.

Co-operation and co-ordination—This was another foremost pillar of policy at Martandam. The poorest people were slow or unable to take advantage of benefits which the Government provided.

Government heads often regretted that they were unable to get their benefits out to the people. We were deeply appreciative of what I called "the finest kind of co-operation": that between the Government and non-official agencies. An agency like ours at Martandam, close to the people, could create favourable attitudes, confidence, knowledge of possibilities, and then call in the Government with its helps and demonstrations.

The Government also helped our Centre and Extension in so many ways: free lumber so we could make bee hives cheaply enough to enable impecunious new bee-keepers to buy; breeding bulls for the cattle improvement programme, pure bred poultry from the Government Poultry Farm; occasional grants to encourage various cottage industries or to decrease our financial deficits. Most valuable were the able officers of Government Departments who so willingly came to teach about health sanitation, agriculture, livestock, economics, physics, co-operation, and other subjects in our training classes. It is a deep satisfaction to know that the co-operation of Government, both State and National, continues until now—thirty years after its founding. Martandam is being aided substantially in several significant projects. We continue in our gratitude to them.

Chief among other co-operating agencies was the London Mission and the Mission Hospital at Neyyoor.

Educational emphasis in training of workers—Every staff member felt the need of becoming a better student than he had ever been before. There was so much to learn and we needed so much knowledge. Every staff member had to be a teacher. The educational emphasis was basic to everything we did: nothing could succeed without it. In the last analysis, every social or economic change boiled down to a problem of education in one form or another.

The scores of willing, honorary workers began to carry heavier responsibilities; they were eager to learn how to work more efficiently. The short summer school was an answer to this situation.

Training of Workers

Our first summer school was held in 1926 at Quilon in the Malayalam area in borrowed quarters. Each student paid for his food and travel. The only time when teachers and students could come was during the long vacation, hot, dry April.

The forty students and nine instructors put in fourteen hours a day of classroom work for ten days. Subject covered the comprehensive programme. They wanted this heavy schedule because none of the students felt he could be away from home any longer than that.

The next year about sixty students attended a similar course at Martandam using the Tamil vernacular. By request the curriculum was enriched with classes in music, scouting, spinning, and weaving. Spinning was considered so important that every staff member and every student actually learned to prepare the cotton and to spin during the session.

The work was spreading throughout the whole Travancore and Cochin area. We answered persistent requests for short schools for Malayalam speaking workers at Kottayam and Collannoor.

In 1931 registration for the four week Martandam Summer Session was heavy. About ninety students and staff were almost more than we could handle, as we kept to our idea of a practical demonstration school with a minimum of lecturing. For example, one Physical Director we had brought from the National College of Physical Education in Madras could lead this class in the 5 : 15 morning setting-up drill, but he could not handle us all in teaching indigenous games, playground games, and non-equipment games between classes and in the evening hours. Again the Government staff came to the rescue. Gopalan Nair, Physical Director from the Science College in Trivandrum and P. I. Alexander, Physical Director of the Arts College joined us. We had three good physical directors and kept them busy all day.

We set a limit of fifty trainees for 1932. This was a pity for the quota was nearly filled before the announcement of that year was sent out.

It interested me that, when we first started this kind of training, it seemed that no one could find time enough or even eight annas a day for food for a school of over two weeks; but as understanding of what Rural Reconstruction was and of its importance grew, we could extent the length of our courses. We were able then to establish the "Martandam Practical Training School of Rural Reconstruction" first with two months courses, then four months. Later we set up an advanced course of four additional months so that a student could study eight months. Every year since 1926, thirty-two years in all, the number of alumni has grown.

The original Martandam training school building made from bamboo poles and coconut leaf thatch, cost twenty-one rupees. A Reader's Digest writer wrote on what he saw going on in and around this building as "the Seven Dollar University".

There was a thirst for training. No one method could meet the needs. Besides the constant training which the work of any project entailed, we had the week-end study groups: special courses of lessons on a single subject, one a day for several weeks; specialised schools, as for boys' work; all-day training classes in villages; area projects such as exhibitions, rallies, market gatherings; even committee meetings turned into miniature training groups.

Dramas written on subjects about which we wanted to teach and enacted by the village people, constituted a most effective teaching method: "Moo-cow-moo" for improvement of cattle; "Cock-a-doodle-do" for poultry; "On the Road to market" against cruelty to animals; "The Buzz of the Bees" for bee-keeping; "The Trail for Health'; "Out of the Pot into the World" a temperance play. Soon after Emily Hatch wrote the latter play, it was translated into the nine different Indian vernaculars and into Chinese for uses in those languages areas. As an important part of educational method we

must mention the circulating Library System. From the Centre's library, books were carried out in small tin-boxes on the heads of village library members to the little library buildings in so many villages. These library buildings still functioning, have one small lock-up room for the books, a room with open sides for reading tables, committee meetings and classes. In front a platform serves for stage, lecture platform, pulpit. The volley ball court laid out in front of the stage accommodates the large audiences. The little buildings easily put up by the people are still village headquarters for community development.

In the mid-thirties we were able to buy two acres of land very near the old rented site and to move the Centre to the new one. Here we put up a small headquarters building, a weaving shed, a small permanent exhibition hall, a library after the village type. We dug a good well. We built a simple model living home which began to be copied in the villages before it was finished. A village family lived in it and it soon came to be one of the most often visited homes in the area. We continued to rent quarters for the increasing number of trainees and for the staff.

Unmeasured Benefits

We have no evaluation as such for the accomplishments and extent of influence of the Martandam work. After the first years when our projects were progressing we longed to know just how successful they were. We wanted to measure our progress. We had our first survey as a sort of base line. Bee-keeping would seem to be the simplest for measurement as we had found only one modern hive in the area. Manuel took a simple questionnaire with on his extension trips. He finally came to me saying if he really counted the bee hives in the villages and the owners could calculate the amount of honey sold, given away, or eaten; he would have no time at all for his regular work. Moreover the villagers kept telling about this or that person near by or far away who also had bees now. He could never finish. Surveys left uncompleted, we had to continue with the regular work. This first experience in evaluating had encouraged the workers greatly. They kept a rough appraisal of their successes and reverses, analysed them at our staff conference and learned a great deal even from this inadequate method. An honest and frank look at ourselves and our work was always a part of the day's work, but our budget never permitted us the help of evaluators, in the sense we now know and use them. Others went on elsewhere to develop evaluation into a useful science.

Record keeping was too easily left to the end of the day or too often neglected. One of our toughest problems we stated as the *development of the scientific mind.* This applied to ourselves, our workers, our students, and to the villagers themselves. Our progress may have been slow but it was progress and it accumulated momentum as it developed.

There were outreaches in India. We were constantly receiving invitations to assist elsewhere. At the invitation of the Gaekwar of Baroda I went to start a rural centre at Kosamba for his Government.

Manuel went to carry on there until Martandam could train a Secretray and his wife to head the Baroda work. We assisted the Government of Pudukkottai. We answered the request of the Government of Cochin State and loaned Jesudas to organise a Centre and carry on until he and Martandam could train sufficient Cochin Government Officers to carry on. We are associated with the Government Centre in Mysore and with a similar one in Hyderabad, both established by YMCA Secretary Stephen. We recruited in a South Travancore village and trained, Davidson who went to be in charge of the Rural Centre at Nellore. Orphy an Egyptian trainee opened a successful work on the Martandam pattern in the Assuan Area of Egypt. From Burma and Ceylon came many students who were enthusiastic and justly proud of their accomplishments afterwards. The Martandam Centre published the "Old Boys' and Girls' Accomplishment Bulletin" a periodical which told encouraging stories of actual accomplishments of former trainees all over India, Burma, Ceylon, and beyond.

In the early training of workers at Martandam, Manuel, Jesudas, Emily and I, and a bit later Desiah, Rajaiah, John Roese, Abraham and Samuel felt lonely and feeble in the face of the need of trained workers for the vast population and areas of India, Burma and Ceylon. It would be impossible to describe the satisfaction which comes to us now from the fact that the Government of India, assisted by funds of the Ford Foundation are now carrying on training on a scale never before attained anywhere, and are turning out thousands of well-trained workers. It is also a satisfaction that Martandam carries on and that Government is assisting its ever-expanding programme and service.

THE GURGAON EXPERIMENT

S. R. VERMA

The Gurgaon District in the Punjab (now Haryana) which was the scene of the Rural Development work done by Mr. F. L. Brayne adjoins the Delhi State on the South and South West and also links the three States of the Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The name of Gurgaon has hoary and historic associations. The legend says that Yudhishtir of Mahabharata gave this village to Guru Dronacharya and it acquired the name Gurugram, village of the Guru. Another story goes that in this village Guru Dronacharya gave spiritual instruction to Pandavas and Kauravas. With the passage of time, the name Gurugram became Gurugaon and the Gurgaon.

The People and Their Conditions

Since the beginning of British rule, the classification of the Gurgaon District for Revenue purposes has been "insecure", that is to say that the people were liable to periodical times of scarcity. The rainfall was uncertain or scanty and means of irrigation were also meagre. The people were extremely poor, dirty and unhealthy, with no conscious desire for anything better, because they had no idea that anything better was possible.

Mr. Brayne and the Beginning of Rural Reconstruction

In such a District, Mr. F. L. Brayne was posted as Deputy Commissioner towards the end of 1920. He took more than usual interest in the welfare of rural people and made extensive tours in the villages to study the conditions of the people. In his visits to villages, he was invariably accompained by Mrs. Brayne, who also took keen interest in her husband's work. Mr. Brayne soon became popular with the people as he was imbued with the idea of service and also mixed with the people freely. He would go and sit with the people on their cots in the chaupals (common places) and discuss with them the different aspects of their problems. In his daily routine, Mr. Brayne did most of his work with his own hands. He would even remove night-soil to set an example and in this way he preached to the people the dignity of labour.

The Gurgaon Scheme

After about seven years of study and experiment, Mr. Brayne evolved a new technique of village development called "the Gurgaon Scheme". This was in other words the practical application of the principle that the central figure, namely the villager himself, must be made to take greater interest in himself and in his village before any results can be achieved; and the Government agencies should do more to combine and co-ordinate their activities in order to assist, help and guide him. The Gurgaon scheme claimed to deal with the

whole life and activity of the peasant and his family and to present a complete remedy from the terrible conditions in which he lived. According to Mr. Brayne, himself: "Our object in Gurgaon has been to jerk the villager out of his old groove, convince him that improvement is possible, and kill his fatalism by demonstrating that both climate, disease and pests can be successfully fought. He must be laughed out of his uneconomic and unhealthy customs, and taught better ways of living and farming. Further the secrets of our success were to deal with the whole of village life, to take the whole District as the field of operations and to deluge the areas with every form of propaganda and publicity that we could devise or adopt or afford. Uplift is a mass movement, a combined assault, and no area, no part of life and no method of attack can be neglected."

Development Under Various Sub-heads

The development work that was taken up under the Gurgaon Scheme can be summarised under the following sub-heads :—

(1) Institutional Work
(2) Rural Sanitation
(3) Agricultural Development
(4) Education
(5) Co-operation
(6) Social Reforms
(7) Co-ordination and Publicity

(1) Institutional Work

(a) *School of Rural Economy*—This institution was started in 1925 with the object of training village guides for the rural uplift work. In the first year, teachers from different schools were invited to receive training in this school. According to Mr. Brayne, "the people who can do most to improve the conditions of rural people are the village teachers and patwaries."* The first batch of students in the school consisted of 42 teachers, 4 patwari candidates and one private student. Next year eighty students were enrolled and admission was strictly confined to agriculturists. The trainees were given scholarship from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per month. The school managed a farm of 51 acres on long lease for the purpose of providing practical training to the students. The curriculum of the studies included scouting, co-operation, practical agriculture, first aid, infant welfare, public health, domestic hygiene and sanitation, village hygiene and sanitation, stock breeding and elementary veterinary training. The students were expected to qualify in the examination in first-aid and co-operation and special test in all the other subjects. Those who qualified in this test were appointed as village guides.

(b) *Village Guides*—Mr. Brayne wanted to have a common staff for village work—one man to each *Zail*, to do all the work of all the departments except such technical things as healing the sick

*Land Revenue Clerks.

and inoculating or vaccinating (either men or animals). The village guides were entrusted with the following duties :—

(*i*) Development of Co-operation.

(*ii*) Public health work, collecting list for, preparing people for vaccinators visit;

(*iii*) Cleaning of villages by digging of manure pits, putting in of windows, ventilators, etc. in the houses;

(*iv*) Agriculture—demonstration and sale of improved ploughs and other implements, improved seed, persian wheel, etc.

The Village guide was required to have a handbook for every village with a page for every family, to fill in the details from time to time so that he would know which children were due for inoculation, how many were still kept away from school, what improved implements the farmer was using, whether he sowed improved seed and kept good cattle etc.

(c) *Domestic School of economy*—The uplift of women was one of the salient features of Mr. Brayne's Rural Uplift Programme. He used to say that village conditions would never improve so long as we denied equal rights to women. Unless they became conscious of this and learnt to realise the responsibility of household life, no further progress was possible. As he opened a school of rural economy to train village guides, similarly he wanted to train a group of women, who could go to the villages and give the new ideas of life to their fellow women. With this object in view, he started a domestic school of economy in 1926, and opened a separate department for women uplift work. So important was the uplift of the women that it became necessary to employ a lady Superintendent to co-ordinate, organise and develop this side of the movement. Miss E. M. Wilson, an English Lady was put incharge of everything connected with women and child welfare work including the health visitors, health centres, training of midwives etc., and also a domestic school. The curriculum of studies in the domestic school included reading and writing up to primary standard, in the case of illiterate women and some instructions in sewing, knitting, cutting out and making clothes embroidery work, toy making, cooking, hygiene, sanitation, first aid and child welfare etc.

(d) *Health Association*—The Health Association was organised for the promotion of public health. Five Health Centres were being run in the Gurgaon District by this Association. In these health centres, besides the treatment given to midwifery cases, the local women were also given training to qualify as midwives. The nurses at these centres also acted as health visitors and visited villages for providing medical aid and also for educating the village women in personal and environmental sanitation. The Health Association also organised baby shows and celebrated Health and Sanitation Weeks and Exhibitions.

(e) *Women Institute at Gurgaon*—A Women Institute was organised to manage the ladies garden in Gurgaon and also to organise

games, lectures and magic lantern shows for the women. First Aid classes were also started by this institute. It also organised children games on three afternoons a week.

(f) *The District Gazette*—This journal was published fortnightly to propagate ideas of rural uplift scheme.

(2) Rural Sanitation

Mr. Brayne made valuable suggestions about Rural sanitation. Both Mr. & Mrs. Brayne carried on an intensive propaganda for rural sanitary improvements by speeches, magic lantern lectures, pamphlets etc. He gave elaborate instructions for using manure pits as latrines. He will allow no sweeping, rubbish, dung ashes etc., to be thrown anywhere, but into properly dug pits. In this connection the following observations made by him are important :—

> "This rubbish lying in heaps all round and inside the village, and this night-soil, scattered thick everywhere outside the village, and sometimes inside too, dries up and is blown all over the village by the wind and is stirred up by the feet of men and cattle. It falls into your food and drinks, gets into everyone's eyes and nose, and goes into their lungs with every breath they breathe. It thus forms part of your air, food and drink, and you and your children are daily poisoned by the filth of your village. Besides this, it breeds innumerable flies, which sit first on the filth and then on your food, your dishes, and on your children's eyes and mouths. And remember that the flies do not wash their feet or take off their shoes when they visit you. Can you imagine any quicker way of securing permanent ill-health or bad eyes and an early grave for yourself and your family."

"The Gurgaon village houses," says Mr. Brayne, "are the direct successors of the caves of prehistoric man". He would, therefore, like the villagers to open windows in their houses to have enough light and fresh air.

The next thing that Mr. Brayne advocated was the prevention of disease. He asked the people to adopt preventive measures against small-pox by taking to vaccinations. He would guard against plague by inoculation and rat-killing, against cholera by well cleaning and proper arrangements for drawing water and against malaria by quinine and mosquito nets. Mr. Brayne had also to encounter the superstitions and false beliefs of people regarding vaccination and inoculation. When he introduced compulsory vaccination, the Meos refused to get vaccinated on religious grounds. When Mr. Brayne's rationalism failed, he went to Delhi and managed to bring the head Imam of Jama Masjid who announced by *fatva* that vaccination was not against Islam. Thereafter the people willingly agreed to get themselves vaccinated.

(3) Agricultural Development

Mr. Brayne also paid a good deal of attention in the sphere of agricultural development. He exhorted the farmers to set up model

farms, use improved seeds, adopt Gurgaon ploughs and other improved implements. He laid proper emphasis on the digging of manure pits by which it was sought to combine better farming with a clean village. People used to keep their manure in heaps and no pits were dug for the purpose. Mr. Brayne convinced the farmers about the utility of manure pits and provided guidance for digging them according to standard and specifications—which were at that time 5 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep. He referred to manure pits as the farmer's treasure-house as once he had seen the crops the manure would produce, he would never allow rubbish to go anywhere else but into the manure pits. As a result of the efforts made by Mr. Brayne, thousands of manure pits were dug throughout the District. He also tried to stop the practice of making cow-dung cakes and told the farmers that it was the best form of manure and should not be wasted like this. He exhorted the villagers to plant trees on every vacant space, so as to have plenty of wood to take the place of cow-dung cakes. Mr. Brayne also preached preventive measures against crop pests, and taught the farmers how to kill field rats, monkeys and destroy other harmful insects by keeping lanterns in the fields. He advised the people to keep good cattle and selected cows for breeding and to maintain milk registers. He introduced the Hissar stud bulls for upgrading the stock of cattle and distributed them to various villages on subsidised basis—the District Board contributing 75 per cent of the cost and the villagers the remaining 25 per cent. Mr. Brayne also took up an experiment of the consolidation of land holdings on co-operative basis. He explained to the farmers the disadvantages of having their fields scattered all over the village area and thereby wasting time, money and labour. Mr. Brayne also for the first time introduced the Persian wheel in Gurgaon District. Prior to that, irrigation was done through the 'Charsa' which consists of a huge leather pouch, which is suspended in the well with a rope on a pully. Four men and two pairs of bullocks are needed to work a Charsa, while one man and one pair of bullocks can serve the purpose in the case of a Persian wheel. Persian wheels were given to the farmers on taccavi at a fixed price of Rs. 200 per Persian wheel.

(4) Education

As Gurgaon District was educationally one of the most backward tracts in the Punjab, (now Haryana) Mr. Brayne had to make tremendous efforts to promote the cause of education and to combat illiteracy. He opened 4 new High Schools and 152 Night Schools for Adult Literacy. He introduced scouting and co-education in the schools. The scouts were of great service to the villagers on the occasion of village fairs and big gatherings. Due to the efforts of Mr. Brayne, the number of girl students in the schools was considerably increased. He suggested that apart from reading and writing, the girl students should also be given instructions in household duties. Mr. Brayne gave great importance to the village school teacher. According to him, the village school teacher, with his school library, his night school and his scouts must be the centre of uplift and culture and he must be so trained that he can solve all the simple problems of the villager, whether they are agricultural, social or moral or relate to public health.

(5) Co-operation

Mr. Brayne also took keen interest in the co-operative movement. When he took over as Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, the work in this sphere had just started. At that time the working capital of the Co-operative Societies was Rs. 1,26,000. With Mr. Brayne's efforts, the working capital of the existing and the new societies rose to more than Rs. 26 lakhs. The Co-operative Societies did useful service to the farmers by providing credits and also good seeds and improved implements and also carried on propaganda for good farming and for consolidation of holdings. According to Mr. Brayne, "there is nothing that cannot be done co-operatively from village hygiene and public health to cattle breeding, improved agriculture and marketing. Co-operation is the cement in the building of Development which holds everything together and makes it doubly effective." Mr. Brayne suggested that the Co-operative Banks must increasingly be used for the issuing of taccavi and every Central Bank and Union at Tehsil or district headquarters must be allowed to open accounts at the Treasury or Sub-treasury for the payment of all money due to Government and finally pensions must be payable through Co-operative Banks.

(6) Social Reforms

Along with other rural reforms Mr. Brayne made it a point to include social reform in his programme. Both Mr. and Mrs. Brayne toured through the length and breadth of the district to see the rural conditions. While Mr. Brayne was active in preaching to the male population, Mrs. Brayne was devoting herself to the cause of uplift of women. They carried on propaganda for social reform under following heads:

(*a*) Prohibition of child marriages;

(*b*) Education of girls in the mixed schools;

(*c*) Abolition of purdah;

(d) Curtailment of ceremonial expenditure;

(*e*) Introduction of marriage registers by which litigation in family disputes is very much lessened;

(*f*) Propaganda against injurious litigation, though there is not much to the credit of Mr. Brayne in this behalf. It is stated that he had no mind to spoil the reputation of the courts by encouraging arbitration; and

(*g*) Combating indebtedness.

(7) Co-ordination and publicity

According to Mr. Brayne himself, 'there is nothing new in the details of the Gurgaon Scheme.' The only new thing is the co-ordination of effort or rather the popularisation and application, by a specially trained staff of propagandists, of the many benefits which the various departments of Government have in store for the villager. The uplift worker is, in fact the village publicity agent of all the

departments of Government. He tells the villager in his own language of the good things Government has discovered for his benefit, and shows him how to avail himself of them. He finds out what the villager's trouble is and suggests a remedy. He is not a specialist, but has a general working knowledge of the results of the work of all the specialist Departments, and this he passes on to the villager as required by the particular problem he is trying to solve for him. The uplift worker is the interpreter of the good intentions of Government for the betterment of the villager. The villager has little use for specialists. Just as all the threads of Government actively emanate from one source at the fountain head, so when they reach the village must they all be collected together again and presented to the villager as a connected whole. The villager will never appreciate the details and ramifications of departmentalism; the only way of helping him is to send him people like himself, who look at village life as one big whole and can advise him generally about the many problems of his life."

Brayne, as Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction

In view of the pioneering work done by Mr. Brayne, in the Gurgaon District, the Punjab Government appointed him as Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction in October, 1933. One of the main duties of the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction was to help in increasing the effectiveness of all departments of Government, which were connected with the development of the rural areas, by closer co-operation and co-ordination both at the State headquarters and in the Districts.

Machinery of Rural Reconstruction

Mr. Brayne was of the view that if village uplift was to be carried on a large scale, it would have to be entrusted to a special agency, with its own staff, its own training institutions and its own resources. In this connection he suggested the following machinery of Rural Reconstruction :—

I. *Provincial Headquarters.*

Rural Community Board consisting of—

1. Whole-time working Chairman.
2. Delegates from Districts Community Councils, Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Missionaries, etc.

Chairman assisted by liaison officers from Public Health, Co-operative, Agricultural etc. Departments to help at meetings and in working things out between meetings.

The Board will meet quarterly or whenever found necessary to co-ordinate and inspire provincial efforts.

II. *Districts.*

District Community Council on paying membership basis.

Duties :

1. Draw up policy and programme of reconstruction, social, economic, etc., to suit local conditions.
2. Organize village newspaper.
3. Attend and preach at existing melas, and fairs, and organise if necessary further melas, exhibitions, competitions, etc.
4. Organize village lectures, dramas, singers and other forms of popular teaching.
5. Help Local Bodies to organize the teaching of its programme in the schools.
6. Organize village broadcasting.

III. *Chairman of Provincial R.C.B. with the help of his staff, will spend his time as follows :—*

1. Assist Districts to organize their Councils and draw up their policies and programmes, and in every other way possible.
2. Provide matter for village newspapers till they are independent.
3. Make slides, films, gramophone records, posters, pamphlets, plays, books, songs and other popular teaching material.
4. Train lecturers, singers, dramatists, demonstrators and other kinds of popular teachers.
5. Prepare material and staff for shows and exhibitions.
6. Assist D.C.Cs. at their fairs, melas and exhibitions.
7. Do their publicity work, as desired, for all departments.
8. Organize Provincial and Divisional Exhibitions, etc., as found necessary.
9. Organize village broadcasting and establish a central station to broadcast stuff for D.C.C. stations to relay.

IV. *Finance.*

1. Government Grants.
2. Grants from departments and local bodies for publicity work done on their behalf.
3. Subscriptions from public and from business firms, etc.

General Assessment of the Gurgaon Scheme

The Gurgaon scheme may be described as a judicious combination of the villagers' own effort with the activities of the nation-building departments. It marked a definite departure in the technique of village improvement and attracted India-wide attention. It looked grand;—but alas, it was not to last or take roots. Brayne himself realised this fact and frankly confessed, "Good work, excellent work is going on all over the Punjab. You can travel all day and find nothing that offends either eye or nose. Village after village and

zail after *zail* have been turned into models of the new life. Marvellous changes have been made and there is a feeling of life and movement in the air. Have we found the incentive then ? Will this work last and spread ? Alas, no ! This work is not being done by villagers determined to live a better life but by villagers determined to please their District Officers. A good enough motive in its way but not the motive we are looking for. There is no permanence about this kind of work. What if the District Officer's attention is diverted elsewhere, or he wants something different done, or in a different series of villagers?"

But why so ? Is the villager inherently incapable of living better or making an honest effort to achieve a better standard of life, or is it because the method of approach or the technique still left good deal to be added and failed to touch the essential cords ?

Dealing with first principles, Brayne has said that the foundation of a real and permanent movement of spontaneous self-improvement should be laid on—

1. Knowledge, and in particular,
   (*i*) Girls' education;
   (*ii*) Women's organisation and welfare work of all kinds.
2. Example.
3. A spirit of service.
4. Village organisation.

These are unquestionably sound principles and no one can dispute them. But when Brayne himself with the rare opportunities given to him, could not make the work permanent, there is reason to pause and to examine if the scheme leaves out something of a fundamental character. We will, however, have to admit and unreservedly too, that whatever the conditions of the few hundred development centres which Brayne established in Gurgaon may be today, there is no doubt that it is Brayne's work which focussed attention on the development of a new approach to the problem. No one can claim to say the last word or to set an absolutely perfect model. There may have been drawbacks and defects in the scheme. All the same, it would be sheer ingratitude to deny that it is Brayne who has made by far the greatest contribution to the cause of Rural Reconstruction in India.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BARODA STATE

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

Shri S. K. Dey has asked me to give an account of the experience gained in Baroda State in working the community development movement. In this article, I propose to explain how the movement began and in what way it developed. In Baroda the movement was called the Rural Reconstruction movement.

The special conditions of the Baroda State should be borne in mind for a proper understanding of the movement as it took shape there. The Baroda State had an area of 8,000 sq. miles and a population of over three millions. Its districts were scattered over Gujarat and Kathiawar. Under a great Ruler, Maharaja Sayajirao and a succession of able Ministers, among whom were Sir T. Madhavarao and Mr. R. C. Dutt, the Government had carried out in the State reforms which had not been attempted then in the provinces in India. The panchayat system was established in the years between 1890—95. By 1895 every village had a panchayat. There were also Taluka and District boards. Compulsory elementary education for boys and girls for 5 years (6—11) began in 1893 and was extended to cover the entire State by about 1900. There was also a library system—a network of village libraries, taluk libraries and a central State library. The administrative and technical services were organised on the pattern of the advanced provinces. The State was well served by railways; it had about 800 miles owned and managed by the State, in addition to the old B.B. & C.I. railway system in the State. More than anything else, non-officials and officials always worked closely together and the people are enterprising and hard working. These initial advantages were a determining factor in the form in which the movement was developed and the success achieved in its working.

It might be interesting to refer briefly the conditions of rural life when, exactly 58 years ago, I began district work in Madras State. I was a student of economics and it was fortunate that, in those days, we began with Adam Smit and Mill. As Professor Rostow has said 'The Wealth of nations' is 'a dynamic analysis and programme of policy for an under-developed country' and was concerned 'to see created a social and political framework appropriate to a policy of sustained economic growth in Britain and the World'. (The Process of Economic Growth, W.W. Rostow, 1952) Mill also had a broad social philosophy. It was fascinating to live for the greater part of the year with the people in villages, get to know them well and look at their problems in the light of the lessons we had learnt in our studies of Economics. There were controversies at that time in regard to the land revenue policies of the Government of India. These policies were attacked by Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt (who had retired from the I.C.S.) and others as being responsible for the poverty of the people and the frequency of famines. Lord Curzon issued a long

resolution contesting their arguments. Similarly, Governments like those of Madras attempted answers to these charges. These afforded opportunities for a dispassionate study of policies. About the same time, a distinguished civil servant in Madras, Sir Frederick Nicholson (who had retired) visited countries in Western Europe and made a detailed study of the co-operative movement as it worked in those countries. He published a report in which he maintained that the only solution for the problems of agriculture in India was the widest possible application of the co-operative principle. This report produced a great impression on us. The then Madras Government however, did not follow up the report. They held the view that conditions in the Province were not such as to afford grounds for the hope that co-operative societies could be successfully formed and worked. Fortunately, Lord Curzon differed and introduced legislation for bringing the movement into existence in India. Sir Frederick Nicholson also visited Japan and described the way in which, owing to the active policies of assistance pursued by the Government, the Standards of agriculture had improved and the co-operative movement was effecting a change in the peoples' lives. The Agriculture Department in Madras had expert officers who did valuable research work. The results, however did not reach the agriculturists as there was no agency for assisting them to adopt improved methods. During these years, I kept in touch with isolated movements for agricultural reform in India and the extension methods followed in Western Europe and Japan; and I had no doubt that the right policy was for the Governments in India to take special steps, as Governments in advanced countries did, to assist agriculturists to practise scientific agriculture. I did not agree with the view that agriculturists in India were conservative and would resist innovation. Everywhere I found enterprising agriculturists who obtained on their lands yields per acre higher than those in the State agricultural farms. My experience was that agriculturists in India, with their inherited traditional skills, were by no means averse from trying improved methods the utility of which had been established. The enquiries conducted by the Royal Comission on Agriculture quickened interest in rural problems and their report contained recommendations which afforded useful guidance for action. In 1927 I joined in Baroda as Diwan and during 1929-30 my colleagues on the Executive Council and myself decided, with the active encouragement of the Maharaja, to take the preliminary steps needed for organising rural reconstruction centres for intensive work in groups of villages to enable every family to take up programmes of improvement on the basis of self-help and through co-operatives. In 1930 and 1931, I studied on the spot extension methods and co-operation in Western Europe and followed these up in later years (1934, 1936 and 1937).

Organised Programmes Essential for Development

Two preliminary points should be made. Firstly, the programme of rural reconstruction was to be part of a wider programme for bringing about a rapid increase in standards of living. Industrialisation—establishment of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries—formed an important part of this programme; also rapid expansion of the educational system.

Secondly, the Baroda Government, recognising that increased agricultural production lay at the root of all development, progressively expanded programmes necessary for this purpose. These were:

(i) *Irrigation facilities* :—These consisted of medium irrigation projects, minor irrigation projects, power-driven tubewells, wells on private holdings, pumping schemes from rivers and canals etc. Considerable expenditures were incurred on these.

(ii) There was also a fairly large programme of soil conservation and contour bunding. Experimental areas were started and contour bunding on agriculturists holdings was encouraged. Systematic anti-erosion measures for the catchments of rivers in Northern Gujarat and along their cources were proposed in 1941: but these could not be organised owing to the multiplicity of political jurisdictions in the areas.

(iii) *Production of nucleus seeds—multiplication and distribution*:—The following extracts from the Administration Report, 1942-43 described succinctly the arrangements developed over a number of years for this purpose :

"The Department has built up a seed organisation. The seed farm supplies seed to a nucleus of growers who grow their seeds under close supervision for the farm depot. The farm depot distributes seeds to 'A' grade certified farmers whose produce in its turn will pass to the unions of growers and thence through the seeds depots to the ordinary cultivator. Such organisations have been built up for cotton 1,027 A.L.F. in Navsari, B.D. 8 and B. 9 in Baroda. Waged 8 in Mehasana, C. 520 in Amreli, for P. 4 and P. 52 wheets. A.H. 32 and AH 25 groundnuts P.O. J. 2,878, and C.O. 419 sugarcane, Jagudan bajri, paddy types T.1 and T.21 Kohlam 79 and Kohlam 226."

(iv) *Education in Agriculture and supplementary occupations* :—The focal points for rural reconstruction effort were the agricultural forms (there were nine large farms in the State) and cottage industries institutes. In the agricultural farms, there were qualified technical officers and there was provision for training youngmen from villages in improved agricultural methods. They worked in the farms and were paid stipends for one full agricultural season. Some stayed on to be trained in subsidiary occupations like poultry farming, bee-keeping, vegetable gardening, tobacco currying etc.

Training in cottage industries :—There was a Central Cottage Industries Institute in which training was given in such subjects as weaving (cotton and silk), calico printing, block engraving, lacquer work, metal work etc. Training classes were held in villages in carding and spinning, weaving, tanning hides and skins, leather work etc. These proved very useful.

(v) Systematic arrangements were made to spread composting and green manures. There was also a programme for agricultural implements.

The Central organisation for co-ordinating developmental efforts, under the Executive Council, consisted of the Development Commissioner, the Commissioner for Agriculture, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Director of Industries and the Chief Engineer working together. Similar teams existed in districts. In small areas policy makers have the advantage that they are in close touch with execution and can make with rapidity changes found to be necessary.

Before the Rural Reconstruction movement was formally started, preliminary steps were taken in the years 1929-31, to strengthen the village panchayats by giving them additional sources of revenue and also assistance for works' programmes. The co-operative organisation was also strengthened.

Establishment and Working of Rural Reconstruction Centres and Intensive Areas

The first rural reconstruction centre commenced work in April 1932 in a group of villages round Kosamba in Navasari district. The basic idea underlying it can be seen from the following extract in which I reviewed the results of socio-economic surveys of selected villages in the State :

"The single outstanding fact in the agricultural economy of India is that owing to seasonal and other conditions, work on the land is possible only during a portion of the year. Million of people are thus unemployed over periods of the year, ranging from two to three months in the highly irrigated areas to as much as eight to nine months in the dry tracts. This long interval of enforced idleness and dreary waiting between crop and crop leads to evils, economic and moral, which it is unnecessary to describe to those who know village life in India—the squalor and rivalries and factions and the litigation which has been described as "our second greatest industry". "No lasting improvement can be achieved in the conditions of rural life unless all sides of it are attacked at the same time; the many sides of it are all so closely interconnected. There are numbers of departments of Government which concern themselves with individual aspects of village life—Education, Agriculture, Co-operation, Industries, Public Health etc. Officers come to the villagers as isolated workers and they themselves have no conception of a common aim—the development of a desire for a higher standard of living all round". I added that the rural reconstruction centres started by the Y.M.C.A.—I had in mind specially the Martandam centre—had experience of methods of integrated approach to the problems of rural life. To begin with, therefore, the Baroda Government borrowed from the Y.M.C.A., a worker who had experience in its Martandam Centre. To assist him, there was a team of four technical experts in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation and Engineering. They established contact with the families in villages through panchayats and co-operatives. Where these institutions existed they were strengthened and new ones were formed in villages in which there were no co-operatives. After the centre had been at work for a year, the number of villages under it was increased and the Baroda Government issued an order explaining the aims of the movement as follows : *Baroda Administration Report*, 1933-34—*page* 154-55).

"(i) The centre should aim at effecting an improvement in all aspects of rural life—changing in fact the outlook of the agriculturists, the problem being "the development of the desire for a higher standard of living'".

(ii) Work intended to realise this aim should be intensive and in order that it may be intensive it should be confined to a group of villages in which it will be possible for the superintendent and his trained co-workers to establish personal contact with practically all the agriculturists.

(iii) Village leadership of the best type should be developed.

(iv) The centre should apply itself to the following programmes:

"A. *Economic Programme*

(*a*) *Subsidiary occupations*:—These should be introduced in the villages attached to the centre till practically every agriculturist's family has an additional occupation from which it can derive a supplemental income. This may be kitchen gardening, weaving, poultry-farming, eri-silk, bee-keeping or any other that may be found suitable. As already stated, occupations must be easy to learn and such as can be pursued by the villager and his family in their spare time and will not call for a large capital outlay. Marketing of the products must be arranged for. This last is most important.

(*b*) Every villager should carry out in his farm the improvements in cotton and other crops which the Agricultural Department recommend.

(*c*) Every village should have at least one co-operative society which would work well enough to be considered on 'A' class society by the department; thrift should be inculcated.

(*d*) In each of the villages again the village panchayats should be live bodies discharging their functions of providing water supplies, improving sanitation, building village roads etc., and in other ways adding to the amenities of life."

"B. *Educational and Moral Programme*

Included in this are adult education; development of 'community' sense and of a feeling of solidarity in the village; propaganda against evils like early marriages and unreasonable customs connected with social observances; the proper use of village libraries; the scout movement and other educative work through lantern lectures; in short, making village life full and interesting. The village school should be the Centre of all such activities."

"The centre can regard its work as completed only when a large proportion of the agriculturists in the villages have adopted some subsidiary occupation or other and when all the other activities mentioned above have made satisfactory progress and not till then."

Further progress was made by (i) expanding the activities of the Kosamba Centre to cover additional villages and (ii) starting new rural reconstruction centres in two other areas. The activities of one of these, the Karjan Centre, are referred to in a recent publication "Co-operation in Karjan" by Professor M. B. Desai (Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, January 1961). The principles

of rural reconstruction were also applied to schemes for developing backward areas. The central institution in these schemes was—there were two of these—an extensive farm in which youngmen belonging to these areas were trained. At the same time as they were receiving training, they assisted in rural reconstruction activities in the adjoining villages under the guidance of instructors. An extract from the Administration Report, 1944—45 sets out the basic ideas:

> "The schools aim primarily at three things, *viz*: (i) to teach good agriculture; (ii) to instil among the boys 'the will to live better'; and (iii) to train up leaders, so that when the boys go back to their villages, they may make good cultivators and good members of their community. In this way, the school becomes the centre of rural reconstruction among the Thakardas and the backward classes of the Mehsana and the Baroda districts. Both the schools have extensive farms attached to them. The accommodation at both Deodarda and at Dabhoi is for 100 boys."

The aim of course was that ultimately the normal administration in a district should be responsible for development. In areas not covered by Rural Reconstruction centres, intensive efforts were made on the same principles by district technical officials working together, to link villages with the work in experimental form and to induce the agriculturist to adopt varieties of crops, methods of farming and collection of manure etc., which the farms after experiments and field trials had found to be the best suited to the tract. In every district there were (i) intensive zones and (ii) areas outside intensive zones. In the intensive zones, each containing 20 to 25 villages, graduate assistants concentrated on activities relating to production and the strengthening of the co-operative movement until the entire area was saturated. As trained workers became available, the number of these zones were steadily increased. The report of 1942-43 mentions that, in that year, there were 24 intensive units serving 487 villages. Their affects were felt, however, over a larger area. As a result of these efforts, most parts of the State were covered by rural reconstruction activities.

The Annual Administration Reports give accounts of progress under the heads of agriculture, kitchen garden, horticulture, manure, livestock, cottage industries, co-operation etc. On the whole there were appreciable increases in production in spite of the wide-spread depression in agriculture from 1931 and the effects of the war. Also, as the Report for 1944-45 says—"While production figures are fairly impressive, there is a steady change in the outlook of the villagers which is a matter of real satisfaction."

Local Works Programmes—Amenities

From the commencement it was recognised that efforts to increase agricultural production could not succeed unless they were supplemented by programmes for ensuring to villages minimum amenities needed by them. Before the rural reconstruction movement was started, a survey was made of the requirements of villages in the State for minimum amenities and a programme was prepared for (i) feeder roads connecting villages with the nearest railway station or main roads, (ii) village wells for supplying wholesome water could

not be tapped by digging ordinary wells. There was also provision for the extension of village sites in congested areas. Funds were allotted on a 'grant-in-aid' basis. As a general rule, half the cost was provided by the villages in the form of money and/or labour except in backward areas. The Annual Administration Reports give figures showing the considerable expenditure incurred under all these heads from year to year and the local contribution that were made available. These programmes were expanded from time to time as needs increased and villages were prepared to put forward greater efforts.

In 1936 to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of his accession, Maharaja Sayajirao set apart a trust of Rs. 1 crore to be called the Diamond Jubilee Trust. In his message to the people he said that no cause had been dearer to him than rural development and added, "my ideal is to improve village life—all sides of it. I wish to develop in my people a keen desire for a higher standard of living—a 'will to live better' and a capacity for self-help and self-reliance. I earnestly desire to make village life interesting and farming a career the rewards in which will satisfy the most enterprising among the villagers". He continued, "from the income of this" (which amounted to Rs. 3½ lakhs a year) "grants will be made for useful schemes like extensions of gramsthans* to relieve overcrowding in villages supplies, communications etc. Special preference will be given (i) to the poorer areas which probably have been neglected in the past and (ii) to the needs of backward communities like the Raniparaj, the Antyajas, the Thakardas, the Rabaris etc." District committees were appointed immediately for preparing a long-term programme to regulate the expenditure. The underlying idea was that every village of the State should have one or more of its pressing needs met out of this fund. Before selecting the work or works, consultation had to take place in every village with the panchayats and the residents and the work or works which the villagers regarded as most urgent selected. The classes of works selected were (i) drinking water supply; (ii) villages communications; (iii) extension of house sites; (iv) anti-malarial measures; (v) schemes for improvement of grazing lands. The works had to be executed by panchayats and in every case the villagers had to supplement the provision made out of the fund. This programme was a useful addition to the local works programme already in operation and gave a fillip to the rural reconstruction movement. Successive Administration Reports give encouraging details of the expenditures incurred from year to year under these programmes and the large contributions made by the people themselves.

Social and Economic Legislation

In the Baroda State, much importance was always attached to social and economic legislation. Changes were made in Hindu Law : among other things, the rights to property and inheritance of Hindu women were enlarged and there was a monogamy law. Here it is proposed to refer to important economic legislation. Such legislation took two forms : (i) debt regulation and conciliation and (ii) regulation of rents and permanency rights to tenants. Under the first head there were two laws :

*House-Sites in the villages.

(*a*) *Debt Regulation Act,* 1935—In the case of small or agriculturists whose income was Rs. 750 or below a year, debts could be re-opened and examined and repayment fixed in convenient instalments. This was a measure to protect them from the effects of the agricultural depression.

(*b*) *Debt Conciliation Act,* 1938—The primary object of this was to reduce agricultural indebtedness through conciliation. In the case of agriculturists whose income did not exceed Rs. 1,500 a year, existing debts could be reviewed and refixed through conciliation boards presided over by revenue officers. Both laws were availed of in large numbers of cases.

Under the second head came the Rent Regulation Act and the Land Protection Act. These were enforced in the backward areas of the State. Their aim was to prevent alienation of lands to non-agricultural classes from the plains and to prevent ejections and fix equitable rents. The Ankadia Villages' Tenants Act ensured permanency to tenants in the Inam villages. The operation of these laws proved very useful.

Consolidation of holding:—An Act was passed to enable consolidation of holdings to take place in villages when two-thirds of the land-holders applied for it. Consolidation was effected through co-operative societies. The movement did not take root. The Administration Report for 1942-43 has the following remarks on the work of the societies :

"There were 41 such societies, of which 22 were cancelled during the year, and 12 are under liquidation. Most of the remaining societies are stagnant, and no appreciable work is being done by them."

Village Rehabilitation Scheme, Baroda

With the help of the ICAR a scheme was undertaken to study the influence on economic, social and other aspects of village life under various land-tenures such as tenancy, personal proprietorship and co-operative and collective farming on holdings of equal sizes Lands from four villages in an area inhabited by people of backward classes were acquired and four different methods of holding—lease tenancy, proprietory, collective and co-operative—were tried. The following statement gives the relevant particulars regarding holdings etc :

No.	Scheme	Village	Total area Bighas	Holdings on 20 Bighas basis	Cropped area Bighas	Crashing area Bighas	Waste land Bighas
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Lease Tenancy ..	Pochamba	1,399	47	940	180	279
2.	Proprietory ..	Khodia	824	30	600	93	131
3.	Collective	Pala-East	915	30	600	168	147
4.	Co-operative ..	Pala-West	960	30	600	127	233
			4,098	137	2,740	568	790

The scheme was worked for a number of years. In 1951, the results were reviewed for the ICAR and the conclusion reached was as follows :

> "At its best, the scheme, in its present form, is an attempt to rehabilitate under Government supervision and with initial financial and technical aid from the State, of a backward class of cultivators who had lost their lands as well as financial resources by becoming heavily indebted to money-lenders of their villages due to evil social customs. Even with this limited objective the scheme is laudable and needs to be continued in a suitably amended form, until the work of rehabilitation is completed. The experience gained in the work of rehabilitating destitute farmers under this scheme is bound to be of great value in similar work elsewhere and also in the work of settling displaced families from Pakistan on agricultural land in India."

No definite results of value emerged as to the respective merits of the different systems of land-holding.

Conclusion

In the foregoing, an attempt has been made to set out briefly the fundamental concepts underlying the movement in Baroda State and the manner in which it was organised and worked. The approach was flexible but the following were regarded as basic : Firstly, there should be a comprehensive programme of improvements carefully organised for improving all aspects of rural life. Secondly, increased agricultural production holds the key to the success of the movement. Programmes for this purpose to cover all areas should be worked out from year to year and there should be an efficient organisation for supplies and services and credit. Thirdly, the block team should work unitedly and with a single aim and its activities co-ordinated. The best non-official leadership should be enlisted for the programme. Fourthly, the agency in the village through which to assist every family should be the panchayat and co-operative; the village school and library should be the centre for most activities.

In Baroda State there were no village level workers as there were panchayats and schools in all villages and co-operatives in most of them and the 'block' team could establish contact with all families through these institutions. There should be free scope for every area to carry out its own experiments in programmes and details of organisation so long as the fundamental principles of the movement— self-help and co-operation— are kept in view and the movement retains its dynamism as a people's movement.

FIRKA* DEVELOPMENT SCHEME IN MADRAS STATE

G. VENKATACHALAPATHY

Even prior to the launching of the Firka Development Scheme in the selected firkas and centres, the Government had had under consideration, the question of rural development in the State. Various measures had been taken from time to time for the improvement of rural conditions. But as the efforts had been restricted in scope and lacked proper co-ordination, the results were neither tangible nor enduring. Lack of direction, support and encouragement from a Central authority was responsible for the ineffectiveness of these efforts. It was obvious that the planning of schemes of rural development and supervision of their execution should be centralised as also the co-ordination of the work of the Departments of the Agriculture, Industries, Irrigation, Veterinary, etc.. in regard to such schemes.

This was the background with which the Madras Government started the Firka Development Scheme. To start with it was the intention of the Government to make each selected firka or centre self-sufficient in the matter of food and clothing and other necessities of life. It was decided to revive or develop, as the case might be, village industries essential for the life of the village communities. The Government also launched a scheme for fostering Khadi.

Financial Arrangement

In order to give effect to their proposal in this regard, the Government started a special fund and transferred a sum of Rs. 4 crores to this fund from the revenue account. Out of this sum of Rs. 4 crores, one crore was set apart for Harijan Uplift and the remaining three crores to general schemes of Firka Development and other schemes for Khadi production. As and when necessary for rural uplife, the sums required were drawn from this fund and the unspent balances were made available for expenditure in subsequent years.

Aims and Objects

The Firka Development Scheme aimed at the attainment of the Gandhian ideal of 'Village Swaraj** by bringing about not only the educational, economic, sanitary and other improvements of villages, but also by revitalising the spirit of the people and making them self-confident and self-reliant. The object of the scheme was to attack the rural problem as a whole as well as in its several parts. The scheme consisted of definite short-term as well as long-term plans. The short-term plan was for the development of rural communications and rural water supply, formation of panchayats, organisation of co-operatives covering every village, implementing a programme of sanitation, etc. The long-term plan was designed to further the attainment of self-sufficiency through agricultural, irrigational and livestock improvements and development of Khadi and Cottage Industries.

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*Specified area for developmental work.

**Self-Reliant Village Republic.

Launching of the Programme and Extension

The Firka Development Programme was first launched in 34 firkas throughout the State during the last quarter of 1946 and was later extended from 1st April 1950 to 50 additional firkas at the rate of 2 firkas for each district and to 24 additional firkas in April 1952.

The selection of the firkas was based on considerations of general backwardness of the firka in regard to communications, sanction, lighting, water-supply, etc., presence of electric installations in or within easy reach of the firka or centre, and the availability of conditions favourable for intensifying the production of handloom cloth for the development of other cottage industries.

Administrative Set-up

The Provincial Firka Development Officer (since re-designated as the Director of Rural Welfare and now the Joint Development Commissioner) was put in overall charge of the implementation of the programme at State level.

The Collector was primarily responsible for the successful working of the scheme in his district. He was assisted by a Rural Welfare Officer of the rank of a Deputy Tehsildar who was in charge of two or three selected firkas, and under him, there were 5 to 10 Gram Sevaks* of the rank of Revenue Inspectors, one for each of the 5 tc 10 groups into which the firkas had been divided. Each firka or each group of firkas was also provided with special staff like Agricultural Fieldmen, Demonstration Maistries, P.W.D. Supervisors, Minor Irrigation Overseers, etc.

Training of Gram Sevaks

The Gram Sevaks were given adequate training in the fundamental principles of rural development. Two Vidyalayam were in existence on at Kallupatti for the southern districts and another at Gopannapalem now in Andhra Pradesh for the northern districts to train these Gram Sevaks. The Firka Development Officers were also given training. A Guide Book to Gram Sevaks was also drawn up to help the Gram Sevaks.

Public Participation

It was recognised that for the results to be tangible and enduring, the urge for betterment must come from the villagers themselves, though all help, monetary as well as advisory could be given by the Governmental agency. It was not economically sound nor administratively possible for the Government themselves to tackle the manifold problems that confronted the villagers. Under the Firka Development Scheme, an attempt was made to encourage local leadership and to instal into them the philosophy of self-help. Works under the scheme were generally carried out only where the villagers were prepared to contribute towards their cost either in cash or in kind or in the form of labour. Emphasis was also laid on the execution of works by the villagers benefited by the works to the exclusion of profit earning outside agencies.

*Village Level Workers.

Association of Non-officials

The Firka Development Programme provided a democratic basis for the development of rural areas. The villagers themselves had a share in framing the proposals for their own improvement. Development Committee consisting of officials and non-officials were constituted in each firka and centre to implement the schemes drawn up for the improvement of the villages. There was also a State Rural Welfare Board comprising Heads of Departments and influential constructive workers, which formulated schemes of Firka Development. It was a Sub-Committee of this Board that drew up in October 1947 a comprehensive plan of Firka Development. The aim of this plan for Firka Development, as visualised by the authors, was "to organise the villagers for a happier, more prosperous and fuller life in which the individual villagers will have the opportunity to develop both as an individual and as a unit of a well integrated society".

Outstanding constructive workers were also deputed from time to time to inspect the work done and report to Government.

Contents of the Programme

For improvements to Village Communications and Rural Water Supply, the Government had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 50,000 under each head for each of the 34 firkas originally selected and Rs. 25,000 in respect of each of the firkas selected later. A recurring grant of Rs. 10,000 per annum was originally placed at the disposal of the Collectors in respect of each of the 34 firkas or centres for expenditure on minor and urgent items of work. A sum of Rs. 8,000 was placed at the disposal of the Collectors in respect of each of the additional firkas subsequently selected. These small allotments attracted huge contributions from the villagers in the form of money, materials and labour and the value of the work done in most cases was far in excess of the money spent on Government account.

Wherever specific allotments were not placed at the disposal of the Firka Development Officers, it was ordered that the expenditure on the items concerning rural development should be met from the normal departmental budgets. It was also ordered that first preference should be given to the selected areas in the matter of location of basic training centres and in training teachers.

Sanitation

Emphasis was also laid on systematic improvement of sanitary condition in the villages. The goal was a clean and a tidy village. The means was through Education and not merely by mechanical activities.

Co-operation

A determined effort was made to bring into existence co-operative societies to cover all the villages in the selected areas through the Co-operative Department.

Panchayats

Panchayats were also ordered to be constituted in all the villages of the selected areas.

Electrification

A high priority was given for the electrification of the selected areas. The Government also undertook to meet the deficits arising out of unremunerative schemes in the selected areas.

Agriculture

Special attention was paid to increasing production of foodgrains, cotton, etc., by subsidising the agricultural requirements and offering various facilities to the farmers. Fallow and cultivable wastelands were reclaimed. Farmers were encouraged to prepare compost manure with waste vegetable matter like grass, weeds, etc., and a subsidy of Re. 1 was paid for every ton (50 c.ft. or two cart loads) of compost prepared. Special steps were taken to demonstrate remedial measures to be adopted against insects, pests, and fungs diseases affecting crops. The pesticides were sold at concessional rate *viz.*, half the price.

The following Grow More Food concession were extended to the cultivators :

(*a*) hiring out pump sets on a priority system; (*b*) sale of pump sets on hire-purchase basis; } for irrigation purposes.

(*c*) Distribution of improved seeds of paddy, millets, (cholam. ragi and tanai) and pulses (Redgram and Blackgram) at local controlled procurement rate;

(*d*) supply of phosphatic manures at half price;

(*e*) granting loans free of interest for purchase of seed and manure;

(*f*) supply of sulphate of ammonia;

(*g*) supply of iron materials like cart tyres, implements, etc.

(*h*) supply of green manure, crop seeds at subsidised rate.

Irrigation

It was also ordered that schemes which would materially contribute for the development of irrigation in the several firkas should be investigated and executed by the regular departments.

Animal Husbandry

The Village Livestock Improvement Scheme, which aimed at concentrated livestock improvement in the villages was ordered to be implemented in selected areas.

Entrustment of Rural Development Work to Non-official Agencies

With a view to extending firka development work to additional areas and in order effectively to stimulate a healthy competition between the official and non-official agencies, the Government decided

that firka development work might also be entrusted to non-official agencies engaged in doing constructive work. To start with, five non-official agencies were selected and paid grants for doing firka development work on the following items:

(1) provision of communications;

(2) provision of drinking water facilities;

(3) improvement of sanitation;

(4) improvement of Agriculture;

(5) development of Khadi and other village industries; and

(6) other items of the Constructive Programme such as Adult Education. Establishment of Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, etc.

The Firka Development Scheme was later merged with the National Extension Service, when this programme was launched in 1953-54.

THE PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ETAWAH

D. P. SINGH

I. ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Community Development can be regarded as one of the most significant movements of the present century. The Pilot Project in Rural Planning and Development, Etawah, has played a key-role in this movement as a prototype of Community Development projects in India. Its place in, and contribution to the movement have been described in various terms by several persons. The following extract from the preface to Pilot Project, India, sums up the position aptly:

"What the Rochdale experiment in England is to the world's co-operative movement, what the Tennessee Valley Authority is to the integrated exploitation of the world's great watersheds, this the Etawah Project has fast become to the movement for revitalizing the ways of life of the world's peasantry."

"Begun under sponsorship of the provincial government of Uttar Pradesh in late 1948 with a unit of sixty-four villages, the project of Etawah grew in three years to include over three hundred villages at the same district, was reproduced at four other centres in Uttar Pradesh, and finally became a prototype for Community Development Projects and National Extension Service blocks in thousands of villages in every part of India........The Pilot Project at Etawah has become to the world a symbol of successful rural development initiated by an enlightened popular government and carried through without compulsion among a peasantry known for its conservatism."[1]

1 McKim Marriot and Richard L. Park. Preface to "Pilot Project, India", page xii. please also *see* among others, the following ;

(*i*) Report of the United Nations Mission on Community Organisation & Development in South & South-East-Asia 1952-53. page 103 ;

(*ii*) Report of the United Nations Evaluation Mission on Community Development in India 1958-59, paragraphs 30-32 ;

(*iii*) U. L. Goswami and S. C. Roy in "Approches to Community Development 1953. A Symposium Introductory to Problems & Methods of Village welfare in Under developed Areas", pages 311 & 313. The Pilot Project, Etawah. has been designated as a "suitable prototype of the Community Projects" or as the " basic model" for India.

(*iv*) Dr. Sampurnanand, ex-Chief Minister U.P. Foreword to " Pilot Development Project, Etawah" page 1, particularly the following : " Etawah was the school where we—the Government, the people and the officers on whom lies the ultimate responsibilty for seeing that the decisions taken by the Government are implemented—learnt our first lessons in planning" and "The pattern which they evolved has found wide acceptance not only in this State but elsewhere also".

(*v*) The Indo-U.S. Technical Cooperation Agreement of 1952 published in "Important Letters Issued by Community Project Administration", page 12, paragraph 2, Press Note dated 5 January 1952.

II. BACKGROUND AND ORIGIN

The Pilot Project, Etawah, was by no means the first attempt at rural development in India or Uttar Pradesh. Several programmes of rural development were started as early as twenties of the century by individuals and institutions, particularly Gandhian "Constructive Workers" and Missions, besides sporadic efforts of the provincial governments and local bodies. The Congress Government, Uttar Pradesh, on assuming office in 1937, created a separate Rural Development Department to undertake a programme of rural reconstruction throughout the State. "This programme had not proceeded very far, when the Second World War intervened and the Congress Government resigned. The Congress Government came back to office in 1946, and in accordance with the cardinal principles of Congress policy, the task of revitalising life in the villages was again taken in hand. It was at this stage that Mr. Albert Mayer, entered the scene." This was the starting point of the Pilot Project, Etawah.

The need for a unified, many-sided and co-ordinated approach to rural development was, at that time, being felt by many persons, particularly the top leaders, such as, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.* Mr. Mayer, arriving at the psychological moment acted as a catalyst by bringing together the divergent ideas and elements. The distinguishing features of the Pilot Project, Etawah, lay in: (*a*) attempting a synthesis of the various view-points into a more comprehensive and more coherent picture of rural development based on the combined efforts of the people, government, voluntary workers and others concerned; (*b*) in adopting a trial and experiment approach to find out "what would work and what wouldn't and why"; and (c) in actually testing out on a small scale in a small area, the numerous ideas, programmes, organizational and administrative patterns, and techniques of development with a view to selecting for reproduction or large scale application in other areas of such of them as proved to be sound and suitable.

A number of efforts at what has been rightly called by Mr. Mayer as "single-lobe development", had been going on from before. They can best be described in his own words:

Routine or Regular Government Work

"Routine or regular government work in development, which we observed in our three months' exploration, was accomplishing very, very little. The system and the attitudes it entailed were really deadly. The work we found—or lack of it—was neither very energetic nor realistic, for a number of reasons."

"The aloofness of workers, their lack of interest in and lack of understanding of the people's requirements and view-points, their

*G. B. Panth, The-Then Home Minister, Government of India and formerly Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Foreword to Pilot Project, India, page vii.

lack of practical experience and their disinclination to do actual work in the field, were some of the causes for people's lack of confidence in Government. One chief inducement for seeking government service was to avoid village life, to avoid muddy and soiled-hands involvement."

"Critical among other factors was this : Orders were handed down to field workers as to amounts and types of work to be done, by upper persons who had never actually done such work and whose time and other estimates were quite unrealistic. The field worker who knew something about the villager was not consulted, and therefore had no moral commitment or spiritual involvement in the work. He had no opportunity to state his case, had not the courage or initiative to try to insist on making himself heard. He was willing to make whatever show he could for the very occasional, well-announced visits of upper people. They, in turn, were willing to accept this show, and there was considerable deception and self-deception all round—except among the village people who were aware that not much was happening that benefited them. One might go so far as to say that this was typical of the pre-awakening period of Indian work."

Special Government Effort

"Special Government efforts had also been made, particularly in Uttar Pradesh. One was called "rural reconstruction", of which much was done between 1937 and 1939."

"But their work was not imbedded in the people. A lot of work was done, probably more physical, visible work than in many other projects in a similar period of time. One could still find evidence of brick-roads, latrines—all kinds of things. But these were not used. For instance, in one village there was a foot-path for cattle to walk through in case of outbreak of hoof and mouth disease. Seven years later, people did not actually know what it was there for."

"There were villages that some years before had been given brick-roads which had gone to pieces for lack of maintenance, public latrines that had never been used, house ventilators that had been installed under some official's pressure and promptly filled up as soon as that official left. The single lobe, the outside gift, the unprepared general atmosphere—these are a fatal combination."

"Rural reconstruction did not succeed for other reasons. Work had been done in an unsystematic way. They would have one man in charge of a certain number of villages. What work he would perform would be more or less arbitrary or personal with him...... Both methods lacked an entry into the people's minds, into their feelings, into their own expectations and needs."

"There were other jobs that had been done quickly, but they too seem to have disappeared in their influence F. L. Brayne's name was well known in India........He used high-pressure methods. Very shortly after Brayne had left Gurgaon, if one went to see what he had done and how he had done it and what the remains were, one could find very little. The people had more or less forgotten. Brayne's

work was a kind of object lesson in how not to strive for quick results, at the expense of achieving built-in-results."

"Brayne had prescribed many good items: sanitary installations better ventilation, and so on. Many of these items were not of high priority, or of any priority, among the needs felt by the villagers. Thus this work had no solid base among the people."

"Brayne's work, it seemed, had not in any permanent way affected village well-being, or outlook. His energetic personality. his purposes, his writings nevertheless did stimulate the thinking of government workers and others, particularly at upper levels."

Gandhian Constructive Workers

"It is difficult to appraise the work of Gandhian "constructive workers" in any dispassionate way. Their great leader and inspirer, and many of his followers, by their insight, their humility, their saintly devotion, their identification with the heart of India, have left an indelible mark on the outlook and motivations of all. It is necessary to look at and discuss them and their work at greater length than many others whom we have met. They offer so much from which to learn. Their spirit was and is central to all good rural work in India, or possibly anywhere."

"The main criterion of the constructive worker is moral. Economic and material improvement are important to him only to the point where they allow people to develop moral and spiritual qualities. Worry and stark need are enemies of the constructive worker only to the extent that they prevent people from developing morally."

"Productive improvement did not appear to be in central focus. I did not see any project guided by constructive workers where intensive, systematic efforts were being made to improve agriculture, for example."

"I met Gandhiji and reversed him and his teachings. I met some of his saintly followers. I felt their approach assumed the existence of more saintly people than the world contains. I feared there would not be enough of them to go around. My reaction then was to plan to depend on people of whom we could expect a great deal, but not impossibly much, since ultimately India would require enough workers to rebuild the nation."

"Insisting on a high degree of self-containment would mean imposing a very low ceiling on material adequacy and welfare. I began to see that such a ceiling was too low for balanced living."

"Finally, there was the absence of targeting, time-scheduling, back-checking, or measuring by the constructive workers. Faith that one's good method must produce the right results seemed to devalue the need for measuring to see where one is at any given time as

compared to where one should be. I felt that emphasis on spiritual quality and method, and emphasis on results could be combined. Indeed, I felt in the context of India's urgent needs that these had to be combined, that we would have to combine them."

Missionaries

"A great deal was to be learned from the missionaries in the way of self-sacrifice and determination........Missionaries also had made important individual technical contributions."

"Three characteristics of missionary efforts in rural work seemed great handicaps. First, in spite of the missionaries' personal sincerity and devotion, villagers on the whole do not identify with them, and thus mission rural work often does not penetrate. Here, of course, was a great contrast with Gandhian constructive work."

"Second, missionary efforts rarely showed a sense of urgency"....

"A third factor evident in missionary development efforts was aloofness from government at local and State levels."[1]

III. THE CENTRAL AIM OF THE PILOT PROJECT

The sponsors of the Pilot Project. Etawah, received inspiration, ideas and guidance from these and other efforts of the various institutions, organisations and individuals that appeared in the field ahead of the Pilot Project and took into consideration their strong and weak points. The central aim of the Pilot Project, Etawah, was, as hinted in paragraph 3 above, to bring about a synthesis of the good features of the various fragmentary approaches and efforts and to carry out action-research experiments to evolve suitable programmes, methods, and institutional and administrative patterns for a balanced physical, economic and social development of the rural communities through the combined and systematically planned efforts of the local people, government and voluntary agencies. on an aided and organised self-help basis with the help of modern scientific and technological aids, in harmony with the cultural traditions and genius of the people. The late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised right in the beginning :

> "As you know, this is going to be more or less a pioneering job. Of course, many people have thought about it and prepared plans, but usually they have been isolated plans dealing with one aspect of the question only. The proper way to view it, as you mentioned to me is to look at it as a whole with various aspects interlinked. We want to raise living standards and to train people to utilise them to the full. We want, in other words, to build up community life on a higher scale without breaking up the old foundations. We want to utilise modern technique and fit it into Indian resources and Indian conditions."[2]

1. Albert Mayer and Associates, Pilot Project India, pages 16 to 22.

2. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's letter dated June 17, 1946, to Albert Mayer cited in Pilot Project India, page 7.

IV. OBJECTIVES

This central aim of the Pilot Project was spelt out in terms of objectives as follows :

1. "To see what degree of productive and social improvement, as well as of initiative, self-confidence, and co-operation, can be achieved in the villages of a district not the beneficiary of any set of special circumstances and resources, such as hydro-electric development or large-scale industry."

2. "To ascertain how quickly those results may be obtainable, consistent with their becoming permanently part of the people's mental, spiritual and technical equipment and outlook after the special pressure is lifted."

3. "To see whether these results, if attainable, could be had at a cost in material and personnel which would be within the reach of the State by the existing departments and agencies."[1]

V. APPROACH & METHODS

Some of the basic principles that guided the approach and methods of work in the Pilot Project are listed below :

1. *Emphasis on Self-help*—The aim should be not to do things for the people by way of spoon-feeding but "to help people to help themselves". In other words, the Government help in the form of technical services, supplies and facilities, though adequate, should only supplement the local self-help and should be used as a lever for building up self-reliance and inititative.

2. *Simultaneous Improvement on the Physical and Human Planes*—This self-help programme should work on two planes simultaneously in an organically correlated manner: "to improve the land by improving the people and to improve the people by improving the land". Both material development and changes in the physical environment as well as the educational programmes and changes in the values and attitudes should go hand in hand and mutually support and sustain each other.

3. *Democratic Approach and People's Participation*—No high-pressure methods should be used so that the results would be permanent and self-generating. Discovery and development of local leadership as well as voluntary participation and decision-making by the local people in the choice of the programmes, planning and execution should be the key-notes, persuasion and motivation being

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1. Albert Mayer, Interim Report on Pilot Development Projects, Etawah and Gorakhpur page 32.

the only tools in the hands of the Project workers, who should work, not *for* or *on* the people but *with* and *through* them. In the long run, Community Development should become a people's programme with Government participation and not *vice versa*.

4. *Reproducibility*—The results achieved should be repeatable or reproducible under normal circumstances in other areas. They should not be achieved at an excessive cost or such a concentration of effort as to defeat this object by having little radiation value.

5. *Basis of Programme*—The local potential, *i.e.*, the local felt needs and the available local resources, supplemented by outside resources, should form the basis of the programme in the area.

6. *Comprehensive and Integrated Approach*—It should be possible to make progress simultaneously on a number of fronts on account of organic correlation of the factors and interdependence of the programmes calling for a comprehensive and integrated approach, concentration in area and resources and concerted action on the part of all concerned.

7. *Phasing: from Simple to More Complex through Selectivity Concentration and Time-growth*—Though the approach should be comprehensive and a number of interrelated programmes and problems should be tackled simultaneously, there should be concentration on only a few simple programmes in the beginning so as not to diffuse the efforts or confuse the villagers. "To start from simple felt needs and a showing of how they can be met and then to go beyond to the satisfaction of induced felt needs. An example of this technique is to start with actions that the individual desires to undertake for his immediate economic benefit, and only later to reach out to those corporate activities and achievements whose rewards are deeper but also more remote. A closely timed programme is required, accelerating and broadening from year to year."[1] Too much too soon is as harmful as too little too late and, therefore, a judicious allocation of priorities giving the pride of place to the more demanding aspects of the programme is essential.

8. *Economic Spear-head*—"A focus of activities must be chosen, based on the villager's felt needs, around which we can later expand his horizon of needs. This first and focal activity is generally economic, that is, agricultural. He understands this, sees fairly quick results, gains increasing confidence from this success, in us and in himself. The work expands from there."[2] This is the 'economic key' that opens the door to abroad vista of numerous programmes and possibilities.

1Albert Mayer and Associates, Pilot Projects, India, page 131.

2Albert Mayer and Associates, Pilot Project, India, page 38.

9. *Rigorous Planning and Realistic Targets*—Systematic planning and precise targets in terms of amounts or quantities of work, persons, areas, and units of time are indispensable "as progress indices, as giving backbone and substance to work, however lofty and far-flung our objectives".[1] The process emphasizes and facilitates "concentration, systematic step-by-step performance, self-measurement and self-correction".[2]

10. *Changes in Attitudes of officials*—One of the important techniques adopted in the Pilot Project, Etawah, has been "to build mutual confidence between the village and government workers as its servants". The Project set out with the object "Our own attitudes as government workers are most crucial; we must work with the people, not tell them; we must demonstrate by doing with our own hands in their own villages and fields—in short, "dirty-hands" methods, not "armchair" methods".[3]

11. *A New Administrative Pattern*—A unified adminstrative pattern with integrated, multi-purpose approach, team relationship, co-operation of departments at all levels, "inner democratisation", local self-reliance, delegation of responsibility and authority, long-term tenure for workers, as its key-notes had to be evolved to cope with the needs and requirements of the Project. We shall revert to this subject while discussing the achievements of the Pilot Project.

12. *Institutional Approach*—To energise, adapt, and utilise the existing institutions and organisations, such as Panchayats, Co-operatives, schools, voluntary organisation, etc., and to create, wherever there was a real gap, new institutions and to build the programme into the institutional structure so as to make it a permanent part of the cultural pattern have been important techniques of the Project.

13. *Co-operation of Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations*—Though the Project was sponsored by Government, the value of enlisting co-operation of private individuals, voluntary workers, research and educational institutions and even business concerns interested in the programme or doing similary work has been fully recognised. All concerned should join hands in this multilateral programme.

14. *No Rivalry: Full Exchange of Information*—Full exchange of information, without any competition for credit for work or achievement, with the departments as well as voluntary organisations, shunning personal publicity in any form, should be the guilding principles for all Project workers.

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1. *Ibid* page 39.
2. *Ibid* page 131.
3. *Ibit* page 38.

15. *Maintenance, Follow-up and People's Takeover*—Whatever item is successfully initiated must be maintained and followed up to its logical conclusion with a view to keeping it alive, useful and actually in use. Unless the item is given up as a failure, the early demonstrations on a small scale should lead to expansion on a larger scale, which, in turn, should pave the way for complete saturation with suitable arrangement for maintenance and takeover, at the appropriate stage without undue delay, by the local people.

16. *No Short-cuts and No Window-dressing*—There is no substitute for sustained, systematic and sincere efforts to achieve lasting and built-in results. Piecemeal and sporadic efforts aiming at creating show-pieces or 'Nine-day wonders' by means of artificial props and short-cuts should be scrupulously avoided.

17. *Economic of the Project*—The extra ependiture on Community Development personnel should be more than compensated by the increased productive capacity. In other words, it should be a sound economic investment with good dividends, particularly in a poor country. Hence it follows that the economic programmes should always be the keystone of community development in developing countries.

18. *Co-ordination Between Extension and Services and Supplies*—The dissemination of information and ideas about improved practices and technical know-how should go hand in hand with the provision of services and supplies. They are complementary and not competitive. Mere technical guidance without provision of credit and supplies and creating of necessary organisation and facilities cannot go very far. A dependable supply-line is a *sine qua non* of a successful extension programme.

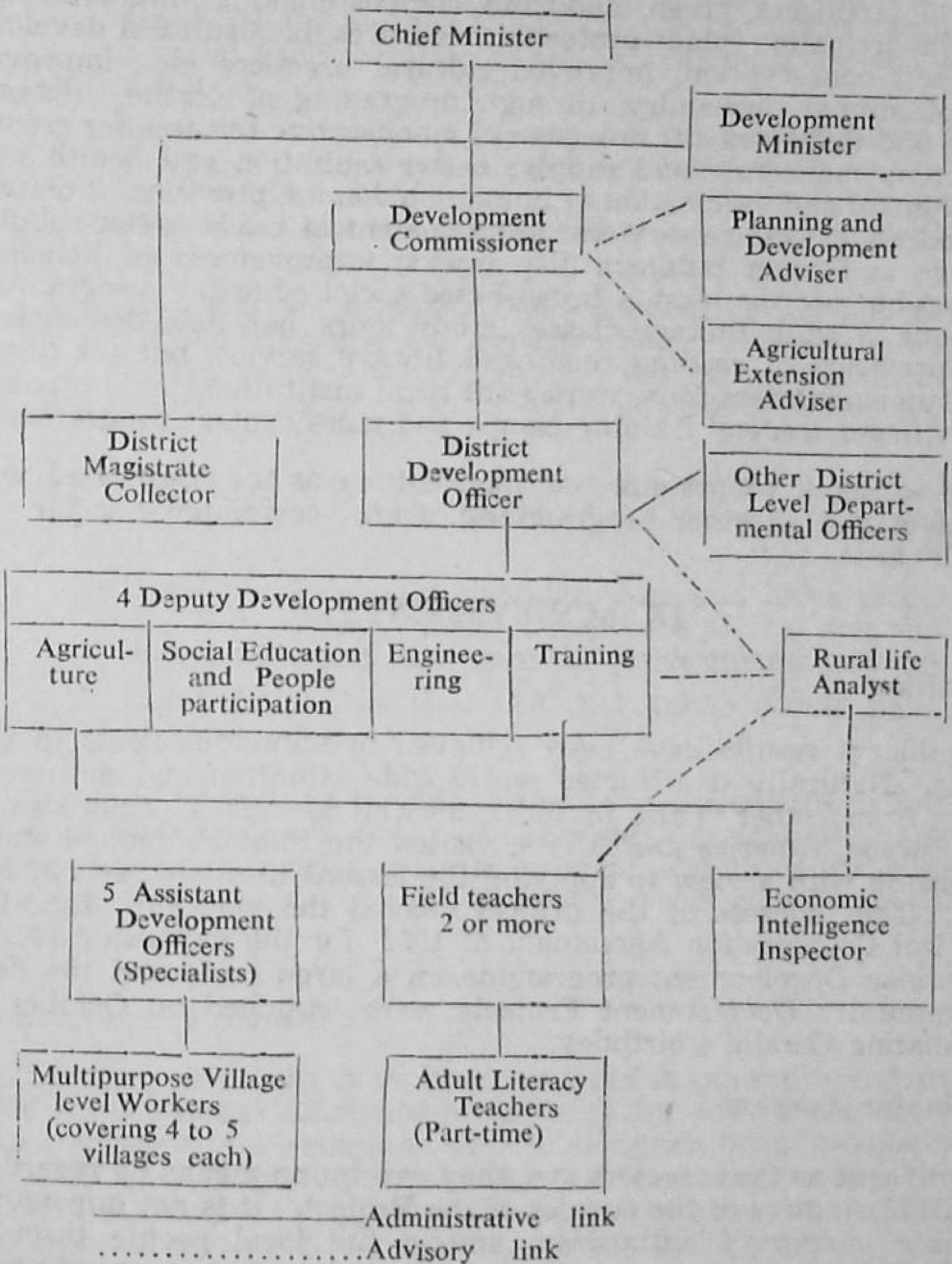
19. *Collaboration by Technicians and Social Scientists*—Both the technical as well as the social science have their important and complementary roles to play in community development. The provision of a Rural Life Analyst and social education workers is as vital as that of the men qualified in physical sciences.

VI. SELECTION OF AREA AND LOCATION

Etawah was selected, after a visit to seven districts scattered in the different zones, as representing average conditions; neither too good nor too bad, neither a beneficiary of any special large-scale development programme nor handicapped by any special problems, but offering a set of problems shared in common with a large number of other district, which could be solved, more or less, in terms of local resources supplemented, within reasonable limits, with outside resources. including the abilities and experience of the workers proposed to be assigned for the Project. The project area was demarcated in such a way as to provide a representative cross-section of the district.

VII. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

After an initial period of trial and error lasting over a year and a half, the following administrative pattern was adopted for the project:



The District Development Officer, later designated as District Planning Officer, was also called Project Executive Officer and, from 1952 onwards, was given a full-time assistant designated as Deputy Project Executive Officer to co-ordinate the work at the Project level.

The multi-purpose Village Level Workers, who were all diploma-holders in agriculture and had been imparted supplementary training through special courses, were appointed at the rate of one worker per 8 villages or about 5,000 population initially. This coverage was soon found to be too thin and their number had to be almost doubled after a year.

VIII. PROGRAMME OF WORK

The specific programme of work consisted of increasing agricultural production through the introduction of improved varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers, green manuring, compost-making, improved implements, irrigation, plant protection measures, horticultural development, soil conservation, improved cultural practices etc.; improvement of animal husbandry, through up-grading of cattle, disease control and management; provision of co-operative services for credit, production, marketing and supply; better sanitation and health services, control and eradication of human epidemics, provision of maternity and child welfare services; improvement of roads, water-supply, drainage and other public utility works; improvement of housing; and, last but not the least, a broad-based social education programme by means of adult literacy classes, study tours, half-field demonstrations, provision of reading room and library service, one-act plays, competitions, farmers fairs, work with rural institutions and organisations, villages leaders' training camps and mass contact programmes.

The economic programme, with agriculture as the spear-head, was the pivot and all other programmes, were correlated, as far as possible, to it.

IX. ACHIEVEMENTS

Recognition

Significant results have been achieved in numerous fields in the Project. Naturally it attracted world-wide attention and numerous visitors from other parts of India, as well as many countries of Asia, Europe, America and Africa, visited the Pilot Project to study its working with a view to applying the lessons to other parts of the world. The success of the project paved the way for Indo-US Technical Co-operation Agreement of 1952[1] for the expansion of the Community Development programme on a large scale and the first 55 Community Development Projects were launched on October 2, on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

Criteria for Success

Significant as these factors are, they can by no means be regarded as infallible indices of the success of the Project. It is not impossible to create temporary enthusiasm among the local people through artificial aids or to create a show-piece through excessive spending of public funds and concentration of other resources. Such artificial enthusiasm, however, sooner or later, wears off and the show-pieces fall to the ground like a house of cards as soon as the artificial stimulus is removed. The true test of the success of the project or programme is that it should survive, grow, spread and become permanent. In other words, it should be characterised by self-sustaining, self-generating and self-perpetuating growth.

1 Important Letters issued by Community Projects Administration, page 12, para 2, press Note dated 5th January, 1952.

It will be worthwhile to spell out, at some length, the criteria for judging the success of a project of this type :

1. There should be a cumulative growth with an ever-rising tempo in each successful field. In other words, an upward trend should be maintained till the particular programme reaches the saturation point by achieving the end set out for it.
2. In addition, the level of interest, skill and information on the part of the people should develop to such an extent that they would seek new practices, methods and programmes on their own and the field services and supplies should be so strengthened as to cope with the new demands.
3. The programme should have a broad impact and the inter-related elements and aspects should mutually support and sustain each other. In other words, there should be simultaneous progress on a number of fronts in an organically correlated manner.
4. Success in the simpler programmes should pave the way for more difficult and complicated programmes of bigger dimensions.
5. Local people should shoulder more and more responsibility and demonstrate their acceptance of the programme by their keenness to maintain the programme and to pay for it.
6. Last but not the least the programme should have a high survival value.

It is not possible to do full justice to all these criteria within the span of this article nor is it feasible without a rigorous and systematic evaluation. A brief analysis of some aspects of the programme and the results achieved will, however, throw considerable light on some of them :—

Agricultural Production

Spectacular results have been achieved in agricultural production. There is a general consensus in the area that even according to the most conservative estimates, the total agricultural production has gone up by at least 50 per cent. As will be evident from a perusal of Table I, Annexure One to this article, the per acre yield in the Project is 55.88 per cent to 95.74 per cent (wheat), 25.32 per cent to 50.15 per cent (barley), 83.78 per cent to 174.77 per cent (gram) and 47.98 per cent to 280.00 per cent (peas) higher than the corresponding average yields for District Etawah. The yields in respect of the first three crops are higher by 69.59 per cent, 108.77 per cent and 55.85 per cent respectively as compared with those of the Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks in the whole of U.P. During the current (1961) Rabi and Kharif campaigns, two villages have thrown up a challenge to the whole of Uttar Pradesh to raise the average yield for the entire village to 47 Maunds per acre of wheat and 65 Maunds per acre of paddy. Whether these estimates are over-optimistic or not (personally speaking, the estimate for paddy does seem to err on the excess side), will be determined during the

crop-cutting under the crop competitions scheme, but the very high figures, which are more than four times of the average yields in the district, are an index of the self-confidence and enthusiasm of the farmers and a tribute to impressive increase in agricultural production in the project.

These high yields have been possible on account of the wide spread adoption of agricultural improvements by the farmers throughout the project area, as will be evident from a persual of Table VI, VII and VIII, showing the percentages of farmers that have adopted technological changes in progressive, average, and less progressive villages. The figures in Table IV showing some indicators of agricultural developments from year to year are also telling. Improved seeds have been universally adopted. Green manuring has become a common practice in the area. Nearly one-third of the area under wheat, over 7,000 acres out of 22,000 acres, is treated with green-manuring every year. The quantity of chemical fertilizers, which were practically unknown before the inauguration of the Project, has gone very fast, the total consumption in 1958-59 being 21,720 mds. in the Project area comprising 281 Gaon Sabhas with 143,000 acres under cultivation of which 85,164 is irrigated. Improved agricultural implements have been accepted in practically all the villages, though not by all farmers, and as many as 4,228 cultivators were sold in a single year 1959-60. Improved cultural practices such as, line-sowing, and inter-culture, hot-weather ploughing, mixed-cropping, reduced seed-rate, have been accepted on a large scale. There has been significant increase in irrigation as a result of construction of 17 artisian wells and a large number of masonry wells. Soil conservation programme, which met with dismal failure in the initial stages, ultimately succeeded, and showed the way for similar work in other parts of the State. The short span of this article does not permit a more detailed reference to the problems, initial failures and ultimate success of the various programmes listed above. It will, however, be worthwhile to throw some light, by way of illustration, on two of these items, namely, soil conservation and popularisation of improved agricultural implements.

The programme of soil conservation in the area marked by Jamuna ravines occupied a prominent place in the schedule of the Pilot Project right from the beginning. A full-fledged engineering division for operational projects was created and the construction of gully-plugging dams and upland Bunds was undertaken in the ravine areas of two villages, Dalipnagar and Iknor, in 1949 with the help of heavy earth-moving machinery on behalf of the Government. The programme proved to be a failure as the operations were found to be uneconomic and without any impact on the people, who remained interested witnesses but without any involvement. In consequence, the programme was considered to be unrepeatable and out of tune with the basic principles of the Project. The operational division was disbanded and the programme suspended in 1950. It was started afresh in 1952, after the project workers had established a closer relationship with the people, on a new basis, namely, aided and organised self-help. In the first year a small area of 10 acres belonging to seven cultivators was covered with the soil conservation measures the farmers undertaking the operations on their own under the

technical guidance and professional advice, including survey and planning, provided by the Project staff. This successful demonstration on a small area resulting in substantial increase in the yields could not fail to catch the attention of the other farmers. In consequence, the programme spread very fast from year to year, as will be evident from the figures in column 7 of Table IV. The total area covered under this programme in the Pilot Project area up to 1961 stood at 28,354 acres. Bunding, terracing, gully-plugging, strip and mixed-cropping contour ploughing, growing of erosion-resistant crops and grasses have become common in the area. In addition, the success of the programme changed the farmers' view-point "*vis-a-vis* nature and its non-inevitability and possible control by men and, indeed, by him himself in co-operation with his neighbours". The same pattern has been accepted by the Agriculture Department for extension to the entire State of Uttar Pradesh. It is already in operation in eight districts of U.P. and 77,500 acres have been covered during the last four years. The target for the Third Plan period is to extend the scheme to twenty-four districts and to cover 10.6 lakh acres.

Likewise, the programme of improved agricultural implements achieved very limited success in the beginning. Though the farmers purchased improved implements, the sale figures continued to be low and some of the implements purchased by the farmers remained out of use. The demonstration, expansion and saturation stages did not follow each other at a reasonable pace. As a result of a review of the causes for the lukewarm interest of the farmers and slow progress of the programme, the bottlenecks and faults were removed. The Assistant Development Officers were retained so as to carry out proper demonstrations, the manufacturers' co-operation was enlisted and an Agricultural Engineer from the Co-operative Agricultural Implements Society, Naini (Allahabad) was appointed as a field salesman to demonstrate the utility and economics of improved agricultural implements by way of improving agricultural operations, saving in time and cost, etc., necessary arrangement was made for repair facilities, training of local village blacksmiths, provision of credit supplies and local manufacture. There was a big spurt in the sales from 1954-55 onwards, as will be evident from Table No. IV. The total number of the improved agricultural implements purchased by the farmers in the Project area up to March, 1961, is 23,546 valued at Rs. 11,77,042.

Animal Husbandry

At the time of commencement of the field operations in the Pilot Project in 1948, haemorrhagic septicaemia was raging in the area in an epidemic form. The eradication of this epidemic naturally received a high priority. Prophylactic inoculation against cattle epidemics has become a regular feature of the Project and haemorrhagic septicaemia and rinder-pest, the most serious cattle epidemics, have been practically wiped out. Regular veterinary aid has been provided both through three veterinary dispensaries at the Block Headquarters as well as down in the villages through the field staff. Upgrading of cattle has been taken up through artificial insemination

and import of pedigree cattle. The former has become quite popular, as will be evident from Table No. V, regarding indicators of animal husbandry development.

Co-operatives

The co-operative movement has gained momentum. Starting with only 30 societies with 608 members and Rs. 3,086 as share-capital, advancing Rs. 19,566, as loans in 1948-49, the entire Project area has been covered with 265[1] societies with 23,628 members, Rs. 6,54,580 share-capital advancing Rs. 24,10,822 as loans in 1961. The figures in Table II and III about membership, share-capital, loans advanced and recovered, brick-kilns, sale of implements, manures, and other goods and profits, are very revealing.

Rural Industries

Co-operative brick-kilns, manufacture of agricultural implements, sericulture and canning and fruit preservation industries have come into existence as part of the Project work. Though the quantum of rural industry is inadequate and the pace of growth slow, the results are substantial. Rural industrialisation calls for a much more massive effort and broadening of scope of the Project.

It will not be out of place to add a few words about the phenomenal growth of the brick-kiln industry in U.P. The first co-operative brick-kiln, which showed the way for the establishment of co-operative brick-kiln industry in the State with over 500 units employing over 40,000 persons directly and 100,000 indirectly and turning out over 1,000 million bricks annually valued at Rs. 20,000,000 was set up in the Project. It was, more or less, a child of necessity, as no bricks were available within a radius of 18 miles from Mahewa, the Project Headquarters and a co-operative brick-kiln had to be started to cut down the heavy transport cost. Both, the Project workers as well as the Directors of the Co-operative Union, were novices in this art. The original site of the brick-kiln had to be changed, funds fell short, labour stopped work in the middle, supply of water and sand was very irregular, iron and steel were difficult to obtain and, to crown it all, when the bricks were ready, no coal-dust was available for burning. Only four-fifths of the small stock of six lacs of bricks could be fired before the outbreak of the monsoon and the Co-operative Union suffered a loss of Rs. 1,000. The lessons of the failure, however, paved the way for the successful operation of this programme in subsequent years. Co-operative brick-kilns have become a regular programme of the Co-operative Unions, not only in this area, but all over the State. Though the industry suffered last year, primarily due to breakdown in the supply of coal-dust, it is full of promise as a permanent rural industry in view of the special advantages it enjoys, namely, ideal combination with agricultural operations as a subsidiary occupation, availability of all raw materials, except coal-dust, locally, low investment of capital, standardization and simplicity of operation, linking of output with wages resulting in low overheads, and a low margin of risk.

1. Later, this number was reduced to 192 on account of merger into large-sized Societies.

Community Works

Significant progress has been achieved in the field of community works. The total value of people's contribution during the period between 1948-49 and 1958-59 was Rs. 9,98,107. Not only a large number of roads, culverts, drains, school buildings and other community works were undertaken in the Project area, but the "Shramdan" movement was born in the Project area. One significant experiment in this field is that of village replanning. Utilisation of the idle man-power during off agricultural season from November to March on the manufacture of bricks on a self-help basis to construct improved houses with modern amenities is the central object of the scheme, which is being tried in four villages as an experiment. It is a very difficult long-term programme calling for sustained enthusiasm and relentless efforts on the part of the villagers and the Project workers. One hundred sixty-eight out of the 280 families inhabiting these four villages have moulded 4.8 million bricks, which will meet 33 per cent of the total estimated requirements. The programme, though difficult, is of vital significance and full of promise. A recent sanction of Rs. 105,000 as loans to these villages is likely, in my opinion, to give a set-back to the element of self-help. An immediate reversal to the old policy to capitalise idle labour and emphasis on self-help is called for. If the experiment succeeds, it will show the way to the whole country in this most difficult field.

Social Education

Village leaders' training camps and study tours have become very popular and they attract several thousand participants every year, as will be evident from a perusal of Table IX. Other items, namely, adult social education classes in the villages, provision of community centres and, above all, youth programmes, have made considerable headway. The youth programme calls for special mention. Based on the experience of 4-H Clubs of U.S.A., but fully adapted to the Indian conditions, and three cardinal principles, namely, learning by doing, earning while learning, and making a profitable use of leisure, the programme, which was started with only two youth clubs in 1954 with 36 members, has spread to 300 clubs with 7,880 members in 1961. It has not only enlisted the keen interest of the youth and their parents in the Project areas, but has also showed the way to other districts. Apart from the individual gainful and constructive projects, such as, raising crops on improved lines, rearing domestic animals, poultry birds, and silk cocoons, cultural and sports activities, collective projects and competitions have become quite popular and the educational effect is apparent.

General Education

The general education programme also made big strides. Apart from the construction of a large number of primary school buildings through people's own efforts, as many as five intermediate colleges, including two degree colleges, sprang up in the area.

The two Degree Colleges, both named "Janta Vidyalaya", located at Bakewar and Ajitmal, deserve special mention. Both of them

were started as Junior High Schools in 1952 and have grown into Degree Colleges in a short span of less than eight years. The total assets of both these colleges are worth about a million rupees. The number of students in 1961 on the rolls of the two colleges was as follows :—

	Intermediate Section	Degree
Bakewar	1,860	307
Ajitmal	1,750	200

Impressive as the number of the students and the quick and sustained growth of the two colleges are, by far the most significant features of the development are two, namely, that the institutions are a striking example of people's self-help, and that they are concentrating on technical education in agriculture and science. Both the colleges are running courses in B.Sc. (Agri.), while Bakewar in pure sciences also. On an average, the two colleges will turn out one Science or Agriculture Graduate per village per annum. Thus, the university education has been brought to the very door of the villagers and the level of technical knowledge and information is bound to go up in the near future.

The Government's grant to these colleges is a small fraction of their total income and they depend on public subscriptions, income from cattle fairs and brick-kilns, besides the fees from students.

Both these colleges have shown outstanding results, not only in the district, but in the university. If they keep up the upward curve and tempo of progress, there may come a time when a real Rural University, supported and managed by the local people and forming the backbone of the development structure there, may come into existence.

A New Administrative Pattern

A new administrative pattern has been evolved in the Project. The concept of a multi-purpose worker, though conceived earlier, was tried in practice in the Project and even the term "Village Level Worker" was coined there.

Another "distinguishing feature of the arrangement was that there was to be an integrated scheme, in which the technical workers functioned as part of the over-all village team, with a feeling of deep interest and participation, so as to invoke and retain the confidence of the village community."[1] A new element of team relationship has been introduced in the old departmental pattern of working in water-tight compartments. In the interests of comprehensive and concerted action in line with the integrated approach of Community Development, teams of specialists at the Projects, District, Regional and State levels have been working hand in hand in tackling the interrelated aspects of the common problems and programmes.

Another very significant new element of the new administrative pattern was the process of "inner democratization, by virtue of

1 G. B. Pant—Foreword, Pilot Project, India page viii.

which the highest officer habitually invites and arranges for the experience and advice of all those below him, and the lowest worker feels free to give it frankly and without fear. The breaking of this up-down water-tight compartment releases energies and initiative, and effectiveness of planning and performance at all levels."[1] Both these elements, team relationship and inner democratisation, tend to cut the red-tape horizontally and vertically.

Role of People's Participation, Village Leadership and People's Organisations

The Pilot Project has demonstrated : "In the long run there need be no conflict between the two central aims of rural development: a maximizing of material production can proceed along with an expansion of personal and village-organizational resources. Even in the not-so-long run, human development can accelerate the rate of productive development. Experience at Etawah shows that such a combination of material and moral elements soon outstrips any more spectacular hot-housing methods in its material results while yielding also the persistent advantages of human development."[2]

It is generally known that the maximum emphasis was placed on people's participation, building up local leadership and energising and developing people's organisations in the Projects. What is not so well-known is the fact that the idea of democratic decentralisation which has come into lime-light since the publication of the report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service[3] in 1957, was mooted first of all, in the welcome address presented by the District Board, Etawah, in March 1952 to the Governor, Shri H. P. Mody, on the occasion of his joint visit with Mrs. Roosevelt to the Project. The proposal emphasized the need for a merger of the District Board and District Planning Committees, creation of a statutory body at the Block level, representation of the Panchayats, indirect election, pooling of resources of all these local bodies and Government and, last but not the least integration of the development set-up with the local bodies with a common executive machinery. There is a common core between these proposals and the recommendations of the Study Team on democratic decentralisation.

Popularity of Pilot Project Approach

The Pilot Project approach has become popular not only in the field of Community Development but in many other fields and it is common to come across with numerous pilot projects in various fields. The essence of the pilot projects approach is to try out a new idea or programme on a small scale, with rigorous definition of objectives, content of the programme, targets and methods in advance, thoroughness and concentration during the testing out

1 Albert Mayer and Associates *Ibid* page 38.

2 Albert Mayer and Associates, Pilot Project, India page 131.

3 Also known as Balvantray Mehta Committee Report after the name of the Leader of the Team.

period, and close follow-up, back-checking and further building up on the results of the past in the post-trial period. Adequate study, planning, proper timing preparation, selection of right methods, with maximum emphasis on the speed and efficiency but without over-eagerness to achieve physical results anyhow, are some of the essential characteristics of this approach. An apt illustration of the extension of the Pilot Project approach is the Planning Research and Action Institute, Uttar Pradesh, to which District Etawah is attached as a laboratory, though its jurisdiction extends to the entire State of U.P. The object of this Action-Research Institute, concerned with applied research in various fields, such as, soil conservation, agricultural engineering, sanitation, co-operatives, rural industries, youth work and other aspects of social education, is to replenish the "working capital", which is fast running out under the heavy development programme. The old improvements, practices, methods, programmes and ideas must be supplemented constantly with new ones in order to maintain the tempo of progress. The new ideas, methods and programmes being discovered by research must be tried out and made available for large-scale application. The aim of the Institute is to study new ideas and try them through pilot experimentation, evaluate the results and methods and provide specialist services, literature and aids to the men in the field, as also to study the administrative structures, problems and inter-relations.

Economics of the Project

The Pilot Project is sound economic proposition with a heavy return on Government investment even from the purely economic point of view. The additional income accruing from some items of agricultural production is given in Table X by way of illustration.

X. MILE-STONE OF SUCCESS: INITIAL FAILURES AND PROBLEMS

Spectacular as the results of the Pilot Project have been, it will be an illusion to imagine that it was all smooth sailing and there have been no set-backs, mistakes, failures and frustrations. Far from it, there have been too many of them and some of them still linger on. The programmes of village replanning, co-operative farming and, to a great extent, rural industry and women's welfare, have not been fully established yet; the programme of soil conservation, popularization of improved agricultural implements and environmental sanitation passed through long periods of difficulties, doubts and vicissitudes before finally making a headway. Even the most successful programmes, such as, green manuring and other items of increasing agricultural production or co-operative brick-kilns had their birth pangs and teething troubles. As a matter of fact, hardly anything worth achieving was achieved over-night or without difficulties. There were mistakes and failures in plenty, the mistakes were not, however, committed in vain nor the failures were accepted as final. What distinguishes the Etawah Project is that the mistakes were not repeated very often and the initial failures paved the way for the final success in most cases. This is typical of an action-research project.

XI. FUTURE PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS AND THE REVISED GOAL

Has the Pilot Project Served its Purpose and Should Cease to Exist?

There is a mistaken impression on the part of some people, luckily very few, that the Pilot Project has served its purpose and should be merged in the ordinary Community Development set-up. In my opinion, there cannot be a graver mistake than to think that the Pilot Project should exist just for a while. A Pilot Project must always continue to pilot : new programmes, new schemes, new methods and new ideas will always remain in ceaseless demand and they must be tried by way of pilot experimentation before large-scale application. It is, therefore, imperative to maintain the character of the Pilot Project intact, to consolidate the gains attained in the past, to maintain and enhance the tempo of progress, as also to extent its scope and dimensions and even advance the goal in the light of the changed circumstances.

No real action-research programme can be carried out unless the level of the staff is high and the workers have the requisite approach and attitudes. As a matter of fact, the more important the programmes undertaken, the higher should be the level of the staff. To my mind, it would be a fatal mistake to dilute the quality of the staff.

So far as I can see, the final goal of the Pilot Project, Etawah, far from having been reached is not even in sight yet and therefore, instead of relaxing our energetic efforts, there is very justification for further strengthening the staff and resources and concentrating the efforts.

It will be worthwhile to go into this question at some length and to see where we stand now and where we are going. In judging the success of a project or assessing the progress of a programme one can look at it from two view-points : to look back to the starting point and to see how much ground has been covered or to look forward to see the distance that lies ahead before the final goal is reached. As a matter of fact, there can be no static final goal. The goal is set in the light of the circumstances prevailing at a particular stage of development and is liable to change with the changes in the situation.

Looking at the Pilot Project from these view-points, the following questions emerge for consideration :

1. Has the Pilot Project succeeded in achieving the short-term objectives set before it and justified the hopes of its sponsors ?
2. Is the Pilot Project on the way to achieving its long-term objectives ?
3. Has the final goal, even in the present stage; of the Project been reached and its purpose served and it should be merged in the ordinary set-up of Community Development ?

4. If not, should its objectives, programme and targets be revised in the light of the changed circumstances and needs ?

My answer to the first two questions is an unqualified yes. A review of the achievements of the Project and its contribution to the Community Development movement leave little doubt that the Pilot Project, Etawah, has fully justified the hopes entertained by its sponsors at the time it was launched. It has achieved the short-term objectives and is well on the way of achieving the long-term ones, namely, over-all regional planning of the district as a whole. The long-term objective has not, however, been fully achieved. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done. Impressive as the figures of achievement under different heads are, they represent only a fraction of the total potential. In all probability, the saturation point will be reached in due course in most of these activities during the next few years, but this does not mean that the Project will have achieved its goal and outlived its utility.

There can be no greater mistake than to carry an impression that a new heaven and new earth have been, or would soon be, created in Etawah or the rural areas have witnessed, or will soon witness, the birth of a silent revolution. Far from it, the problems of India, particularly rural India, are so numerous, so gigantic and so deep-rooted and the resources so limited, that only a sustained Herculean effort lasting over a long period can solve them. Far from finding a panacea for all ills, the Pilot Project has been able only to break the crust, though a thick crust, of the problem. A way out has been found to build up and utilize local resources, human as well as material, and new techniques, methods and organizational patterns have been evolved. The most crucial stage has been crossed, but the final goal is not even in sight. The war against poverty, ignorance, disease and squalor has not been won. Unemployment, under-employment and over-population are still stalking the land. If anything, the situation is becoming worse. The chief difference between an under-developed country and a developed one, namely, "in a developed country people work more, work harder, and work more efficiently; in an under-developed country, there is permanent unemployment and under-employment,"[1] is staring us in the face. The rural industrialization has not even made a beginning in the true sense of the term.

It is no reflection on the Pilot Project, Etawah, that these problems have not been solved. There are two basic reasons at the root of these problems, namely, lack of full development and optimum utilization of all physical and human resources of the area and an adverse human-resource ratio arising from an imbalance between the population and the resources. Both these basic problems have to be tackled, if full economic and social development is to be achieved. The pilot project has tried to tackle the first problem with substantial success in many spheres. It did not and could not, touch the second problem which was outside its scope.

[1] Dr. Gnunar Myrdal, Address to Members of Parliament, Indian Economic Planning in its Broader Setting, Page 17.

To spell it out in greater detail, the development programme for rural areas may be regarded as a six-pronged drive :

1. Intensive agriculture or increasing agricultural productivity through the adoption of improved techniques of production, increased provision of facilities and services and physical changes by means of soil conservation, irrigation, communications, etc.
2. Changes in the human factor by raising the levels of education, building up new skills and other personal qualities so as to make the worker better equipped, more capable, willing and efficient, and to create a better moral and intellectual atmosphere.
3. Transformation of the institutional and organisational pattern by energizing and adapting the existing institutions and creating new ones.
4. Provision of greater amenities, services and physical resources in order to provide optimum conditions for full development of agriculture, industry, and social services and institutions.
5. Urbanisation and rural industrialization so as to eliminate unemployment and relieve the pressure on land.
6. Last, but far the most important in the present Indian situation, restoration of the balance between human and material resources through the control of population and maximum development of the resources.

The Pilot Project, Etawah, has achieved excellent results in regard to 1, 2 and 3 above, and has done substantial work in regard to 4. It has not been able to make any real dent on number 5 and 6 which, it must be noted, did not fall within its purview. There is, however, no reason why, in view of the present situation and the stage of development already achieved, these aspects of over-all economic and social development should not form part of the revised goals of the Pilot Project. It is high time that the goal, objectives, programme and targets of the project should be revised and the project should be used as a Pilot Project for over-all regional economic and social planning or total balanced rural development on the same lines as it has been with regard to Community Development in the ordinary sense of the term.

Looked at from this view-point, the Pilot Project has a still more important future role to play as a laboratory for action-research programmes to solve the most complex and fundamental problems referred to above. The solution of these problems depends on a massive effort involving basic questions of national policy and provision of heavy resources from outside. There is, however, no reason why the Planning Commission, the Government of India and the Government of Uttar Pradesh should not use the Pilot Project as the testing ground for over-all regional planning and for the evolution of the ultimate pattern of all-round economic and social development of rural areas, including restoration of the balance between resources and population. The people

in this area are better equipped to participate in such a programme than those in any other area. It is for the Planning Commission and the Government to delineate the policy, lay down the basic principles and provide outside resources, entrusting the people and the project workers with the responsibility for the rest. If this is done, the key to the full development of rural India may be found some day. In other words, the Pilot Project, Etawah, should be raised to a higher-level Pilot Project in the total regional planning.

It will not be out of place to add, in this connection, that in the interests of maintaining and enhancing the tempo of progress, the intensity and level of staff, facilities and services should not be reduced. The supply-line of the essential materials, such as, coal-dust, fertilizers, green manure seeds, etc., should be fully maintained and further perfected. The local co-operatives and other people's organizations, far from being left along, should be fully helped and supported. The higher the stage of development and the more complex and difficult the programme, the higher the level of staff, facilities, services and the efforts needed to achieve and maintain an ever-rising tempo of progress.

Pilot Projects for Other States

A Pilot Project being essentially regional in character, it will be extremely useful to create similar Pilot Projects in other States by raising the level of the staff, resources, facilities and changing the techniques and methods.

Planning Research and Action Institutes for Other States

I might end with a plea for the establishment of Planning Research & Action Institutes in other States in close collaboration both with the Planning Research & Action Institute, U.P., on the one hand, and the Central Institute of Community Development on the other.

ANNEXURE ONE

TABLE I*

AGRICULTURAL SAMPLE SURVEY IN THE PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ETAWAH, 1956-57 TO 1960-61

COMPARISON OF SURVEY ESTIMATES WITH GENERAL CROP-ESTIMATION AND NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY CROP ESTIMATION SURVEY ESTIMATES

Crop	Average yield for Pilot Project based on Agricultural Sample Survey	N.S.S.-C.E. Survey estimates for all Development Blocks (CP, CD, NES) in U.P.—Rabi		General Crop Estimation Survey—Estimates for Etawah District—Rabi	
	Yield acre (Mds.)	Yield acre (Mds.)**	Per cent excess of Col. (2) over Col. (3)	Yield acre Mds.	Per cent excess of Col. (2) over Col. (3)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1956-57					
Wheat	17·01	10·03	69·59	8·69	95·74
Barley	19·52	9·35	108·77	13·00	50·15
Gram	17·58	11·28	55·85	7·89	122·81
Pea	24·44	N.A.	N.A.	6·93	252·66
1957-58					
Wheat	18·73	8·80	112·84	9·78	91·51
Barley	16·93	8·08	109·53	12·49	35·55
Gram	15·48	N.A***	N.A.	8·10	91·11
Pea	19·57	N.A.	N.A.	5·15	280·00
1958-59					
Wheat	22·24	Not available		13·09	71·43
Barley	18·71			14·93	25·32
Gram	16·54			9·00	83·78
Pea	22·33			6·07	267·87
1959-60					
Wheat	22·12	Not available		14·19	55·88
Barley	18·73			11·33	65·31
Gram	16·16			7·63	111·80
Pea	20·54			13·27	54·78
1960-61					
Wheat	20·99	Not available		12·64	66·06
Barley	19·33			13·74	40·68
Gram	17·97			6·54	174·77
Pea	22·68			15·33	47·95

*Pilot Development Project, Etawah, Planning Research & Action Institute, U.P. page 70. The estimates from 1957-58 to 1960-61 have been obtained from the Planning, Research & Action Institute U.P.

**The yield figures have been converted from pounds to maunds.

***N.A. Not available.

TABLE II*

GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ETAWAH, 1948-49 to 1960-61

Year	Number of societies function-ing	Number of members in the societies	Share Capital (Rs.)	Loans Advance (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1948-49	30	608	3,086	19,566
1949-50	39	639	4,944	28,671
1950-51	48	1,418	10,063	36,908
1951-52	127	3,486	24,417	2,00,633
1952-53	149	5,143	93,751	3,67,036
1953-54	158	5,306	97,484	3,50,702
1954-55	171	7,128	1,43,098	2,68,232
1955-56	185	9,168	2,21,169	6,20,868
1956-57	265	10,759	2,63,659	7,42,878
1957-58	203**	11,129	3,10,758	11,60,410
1958-59	238**	13,197	3,74,550	14,32,024
1959-60	190**	21,476	5,82,677	18,63,030
1960-61	192**	23,628	6,54,580	24,10,822

*Pilot Development Project, Etawah, Planning Research & Action Institute, U.P., page 91.

The figures for the last two years *i.e.* 1959-60 and 1960-61 have been obtained from the PR & AI.

**The fall is due to the formation of large sized societies in the project. The pattern of cooperative societies was changed by merger of individual village societies into multi-village large sized societies.

TABLE III*

GROWTH OF MULTIPURPOSE CO-OPERATION UNION, MAHEWA. P.D.P., ETAWAH

Period	Membership		Share Capital	Amount advanced as Loan	Amount due	Amount recovered	No. of Bricks sold (lacs)	Brick kiln profit (Rs.)	Value of Farm and domestic requirements				Profits
	So-cieties	Indivi-duals							Imple-ments	Manure	Others	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1954-55	10	497	25,192	(Bank Branch opened in 1955-56)			N.A.	N.A.	11,914	2,049	28,352	42,315	3,627
1955-56	10	808	30,530	109,865	67,697	65,632	23·71	8,012	8,781	3,270	26,259	38,310	+ 8,990
1956-57	21	1,559	48,276	113,368	160,113	140,037	24·66	17,406	36,200	13,376	39,767	89,343	+ 24,112
1957-58	19**	1,470**	48,920	157,216	158,681	146,601	33·42	25,700	57,043	243,208	93,458	176,709	+ 44,227
1958-59	19**	1,473**	49,535	184,000	224,000	223,328	23·38	12,686	108,156	37,330	48,318	193,804	+ 23,165
1959-60	10**	1,258**	44,261	254,597	208,401	207,986	28·01	16,460	121,118	10,456	68,912	206,486	+23,000
1960-61	10**	1,323**	49,961	(Bank Branch wound up in 1960-61†)			28·22	17,000	85,929	31,828	9,082	126,839	+22,000

*Table III in based on 4 tables appearing on pages 25, 26 and 27, Pilot Development Project, Etawah. The figures for 1958-59, and 1960-61 have been obtained from the Planning Research & Action Institute.

**The number of member societies and individual share-holders decreased due to transfer of some area to Ajitmal Union.

†The District Co-operative Bank closed its branch owing to the absence of Police Station at Mahewa and resumed distribution of loans from the district office.

TABLE IV*

SOME INDICATORS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ETAWAH

Year	Green manuring (acres)	Nitrogenous fertilizers (Maunds)	Phosphatic fertilizers (Maunds)	Total	Insecticides distributed (Lbs.)	Soil conservation (acres)	Soil conservation Cumulative (acres)	Improved implements sold: Soil turning plough (Nos.)	Cultivators (Nos.)	Threshers (Nos.)	Others** (Nos.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1948—49	—	191	4	195	—	—	—	52	—	—	—
1949—50	300	388	124	512	—	—	—	240	3	2	—
1950—51	667	355	83	438	—	—	—	608	8	6	—
1951—52	370	225	121	346 ..	110	—	—	329	12	14	8
1952—53	897	358	424	782	336	10·00	—	149	9	89	7
1953—54	1,958	754	617	1,362	1,436	140·00	150·00	641	7	14	9
1954—55	2,232	784	223	1,007	1,947	450·00	600·00	214	38	33	70
1955—56	5,200	968	245	1,213	2,694	2,746·50	3,346·50	838	189	77	120
1956—57	5,854	3,746	1,274	5,020	3,053	2,337·80	5,684·30	1,243	656	29	172
1957—58	4,190	6,851	1,544	8,395	6,007	1,850·00	7,534·30	1,003	1,226	153	200
1958—59	6,160	14,403	7,317	21,720	22,040	2,120·00	9,654·30	1,550	2,767	95	128
1959—60	7,215	15,094	3,993	19,987	22,967	10,000·00	19,654·30	1,513	4,228	154	352
1960—61	7,095	11,533	6,110	17,643	6,918	8,700·00	28,354·30	877	2,995	101	318
TOTAL								9,257	12,138	767	1,384

*Extracted from Appendix 'C' page 99, Pilot Development Project Etawah. The figures for 1959—60 and 1960—1961 have been obtained from the Planning Research and Action Institute, U.P., Lucknow.

**Other's in Column No. (12) include cane crusher, levelling karhas, volts set, wheel hoes, seed drill etc.

TABLE V*

SOME INDICATORS OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY DEVELOPMENT IN THE PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, ETAWAH

Year	Inoculations against Hamorrhagic Septicemia	Inoculations against Rinderpest	Total columns 2 & 3	Artificial Inseminations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1948-49	4,227	11,116	15,343	—
1949-50	18,559	23,116	41,675	—
1950-51	21,508	11,284	32,792	156
1951-52	18,911	29,286	48,197	530
1952-53	53,941	41,846	95,787	636
1953-54	43,083	27,570	70,653	724
1954-55	33,351	32,208	65,559	676
1955-56	30,904	20,497	51,401	1,070
1956-57	60,984	32,764	93,748	1,563
1957-58	49,164	43,651	91,815	2,376
1958-59	60,518	33,642	84,160	2,811
1959-60	60,865	78,547	1,39,412	3,074
1960-61	59,065	44,350	1,03,415	1,894

*Pilot Development Project, Etawah, Planning Research & Action Institute U.P., Appendix, C, page 102. The figures for the last 2 years *i.e.* 1959-60 and 1960-61 (Part) have been obtained from the PR & AI.

TABLE VI

ADOPTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES IN THE PILOT PROJECT

(PROGRESSIVE VILLAGES)

(Percentage)

Items	Large Cultivators	Medium Cultivators	Small Cultivators
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Use of Improved Seeds			
Wheat	100·0	98·0	100·0
Gram	88·4	80·0	33·0
Barley	85·0	80·3	46·0
Pea	100·0	100·0	100·0
Use of Fertilizers in Rabi Crops			
Nitrogenous Fertilizers	100·0	90·5	80·0
Phosphatic Fertilizers	95·2	86·9	47·0
Green Manuring			
Sanai	83·3	78·9	54·0
Indigo	51·0	36·1	22·4
Improved Agricultural Implements			
Light from Ploughs	93·5	85·3	35·8
Cultivators	95·2	70·5	24·6
Threshers	52·7	11·5	Negligible.
Improved Practices			
Reduced Seed Rate	95·2	78·7	51·8
Line sowing of crops	98·6	82·0	57·6
Use of Insecticides	85·0	73·8	51·0

TABLE VII

ADOPTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES IN THE PILOT PROJECTS

(AVERAGE VILLAGES)

(Percentage)

Items	Large Cultivators	Medium Cultivators	Small Cultivators
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Use of Improved Seeds			
Wheat	94·0	100·0	95·0
Gram	52·0	73·0	77·5
Barley	86·0	66·4	66·6
Pea	96·0	100·0	94·0
Use of Fertilizers in Rabi Crops			
Nitrogenous Fertilizers	92·0	68·0	34·0
Phosphatic Fertilizers	52·0	40·0	31·4
Green Manuring			
Sanai	57·1	38·2	30·5
Indigo	22·4	10·0	7·5
Improved Agricultural Implements			
Light from Ploughs	67·3	49·8	30·9
Cultivators	65·3	40·0	16·6
Threshers..	14·3	3·3	—
Improved Practices			
Raduced Seed Rate	85·6	69·7	50·3
Line Sowing	63·3	60·6	52·7
Use of Insecticides	94·0	73·7	51·7

TABLE VIII

ADOPTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES IN THE PILOT PROJECTS

(LESS PROGRESSIVE (VILLAGES)

(Percentage)

Item	Large Cultivators	Medium Cultivators	Small Cultivators
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Use of Improved Seeds			
Wheat	94·0	100·0	95·0
Gram	34·0	26·0	27·1
Barley	42·0	37·0	32·3
Pea	94·0	100·0	95·0
Use of Fertilizers in Rabi Crops			
Nitrogenous Fertilizers	80·0	50·8	54·0
Phosphatic Fertilizers	28·0	25·0	21·8
Green Manuring			
Sanai	58·0	44·0	24·7
Indigo	12·0	7·5	3·0
Improved Agricultural Implements			
Light Iron Ploughs	82·0	56·8	36·0
Cultivators	62·0	20·9	8·9
Threshers	8·0	—	—
Improved Practices			
Reduced Seed Rate	66·0	33·0	72·0
Line Sowing	40·0	23·7	31·8
Use of Insecticides	24·0	—	31·2

NOTE—Tables VI, VII and VIII are based on the Coverage Survey on Improved Agricultural Practice in the Pilot Development Project, Etawah, carried out by the Planning Research Action Institute, U.P., in 1959 and quoted on pages 73—78. "Pilot Development Project, Etawah".

TABLE IX*

SOME INDICATORS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION IN THE PILOT PROJECT ETAWAH

Year	No. of Persons partici-pating in Sight-seeing	Village leaders trained	No. of Youth Clubs	No. of Youth club members
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1949-50	611	119	—	—
1950-51	2,975	58	—	—
1951-52	2,590	40	—	—
1952-53	2,986	78	—	—
1953-54	4,329	84	—	—
1954-55	5,431	54	2	36
1955-56	3,067	155	N.A.	N.A.
1956-57	9,470	638	12	225
1957-58	6,465	2,984	31	640
1958-59	5,558	3,709	53	841
1959-60	11,993	8,875	68	1,303
1960-61 (Part)	4,902	2,709	300	7,880

*Pilot Development Project Etawah, Planning Research and Action Institute U.P., Appendix 'C' Page 103 and 107. The figures for the last 2 years *i.e.* 1959-60 and 1960-61 (Part) have been obtained from the Planning Research and action Institute U.P., Lucknow.

THE NILOKHERI EXPERIMENT

AN OBSERVER

India secured independence in August 1947. The country was divided, and thousands of refugees were pouring in from Pakistan. The number of these uprooted people was more than the total population of Australia. They had to be received, fed, clothed and rehabilitated.

The Refugee Problem

Kurukshetra, a hundred miles from Delhi on the main road to Ambala, was receiving the bulk of the refugees. The barren fields of Kurukshetra were littered with tents. Nearly three hundred thousand refugees were quartered in this area. An equal number had to be sent out in different directions every day to make room for newcomers. Arrangements for their food, medical relief and other immediate necessities were made by the Government. But what about their future? Would they continue to live on doles for ever? The question was on the minds of many. But no one could show a way out of the impasse.

Shri S. K. Dey, a foreign-trained engineer with administrative experience, was at that time living among the displaced persons at Kurukshetra. He, too, was worry about their future. He had read about co-operatives in China during the Sino-Japanese War, and knew how they offered gainful occupation to thousands of people. He had been impressed by the countrywide campaign to rehabilitate persons coming from the war-ravaged territories and provide them means of livelihood.

He had also had experience, in his own village, of the basic needs of the community and how steps to meet them could be broadly organised. Here in Kurukshetra he found an opportunity to translate his ideas into action. To quote him : "I plunged into my dream of planning for a new agro-industrial society for India with the displaced millions as the vanguard of the movement."

A Practical Approach

The approach was a practical one. The people should be given work so that they could earn. That would, among other things, restore among the refugees the self-confidence they lost during the turmoil. Once work for their livelihood was arranged, other things would follow as a natural consequence. With the money earned they could have homes for the family, adequate clothing, and schooling for the children; medical aid and other amenities would also follow. But the starting point was that their right to live and to work for a living had to be recognised.

But examples had to be set rather than precepts quoted. Proving by doing was the prime need of the hour. The refugees had long been given lots of advice but no one was doing anything tangible.

Shri Dey made a survey of the camp population, their immediate needs and requirements. It did not take him long to discover that they did not have enough clothing. So there was scope for industries connected with cloth and garment making. Moreover, the refugees required soap for washing such clothing as they had. Soap-making could also therefore be undertaken.

The survey further showed that there were some artisans among the refugees. There were weavers, tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc. A list was made of such readily available technical people. A scheme was also prepared to start a small training-*cum*-production centre. The immediate objective was to teach weaving, calico printing, tailoring and soap-making. On December 13, 1947, the Ministry of Rehabilitation sanctioned the scheme, costing Rs. 17,000 for the vocational training centre in the Kurukshetra Camp. The four items referred to were accepted as subjects for immediate training.

First Lessons

The scheme was there and so was money. But it takes more than schemes and finance to solve hard problems. Shri Dey learnt this the hard way when he tried to get handlooms. He searched near-about markets; but none was available. The engineer in him took up the challenge : "If a loom is not available, why not produce one?" He planned to manufacture looms. But tools to make handlooms were not available either.

That gave him an idea : "Why not start a blacksmithy shop to forge the necessary tool?"

Shri Dey again approached the Rehabilitation Ministry. The Ministry was convinced by his argument and a blacksmithy section for the production-*cum*-training centre was sanctioned.

But how can one have a blacksmithy without a blower ?

Increasing he was realising how many things are inter-related in planning. He started with a modest scheme only to discover soon that the production-*cum*-training centre could not run unless simultaneous attention was paid to allied projects. So a foundry section proved to be a necessity. Moreover, transport was needed to carry the necessary material from place to place. So a transport section was planned as well. But one cannot have lorries and trucks without drivers and motor mechanics. They were not easily available from among the refugees. So a scheme to train some of them for driving and machine repair was added. The cost of the scheme shot up from Rs. 17,000 to Rs. 5 lakhs but it was sanctioned by the Government.

Training Centre Starts Working

In February 1948, the vocational training-*cum*-production centre was finally set up in the tent town of Kurukshetra. There were 750 trainees and 250 trained workers, besides 50 instructors, supervisors and others administering its activities. The activities consisted of spinning, weaving, tailoring, laundering, soap-making, calico printing, leather tanning, blacksmithy, carpentry, tinsmithy, locksmithy, foundry, motor mechanism, motor driving, poultry keeping, embroidery,

pottery, etc. About a thousand people were thus kept productively busy in a place where thousands of others were idling away their time. The centre became an oasis of activity in a desert of lethargy.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's Visit

Shri Nehru visited the Kurukshetra camp for the first time in April 1948. He visited the vocational training centre as well. He saw the trainees—men and women—cheerfully busy with their work. Here was a centre of discipline in the surrounding chaos. Confidence and contentment were writ large on the faces of the workers. Shri Nehru made careful enquiries about the centre, its growth step by step, the wages earned by the refugees, and the sale of their products. He was impressed, and desired such training-*cum*-production centres to be multiplied. Later in the day, at the public meeting where he addressed all the refugees living in Krukshetra, he declared that he would like to see thousands of townships in India "humming with the music of muscles".

The seed that was sown at Kurukshetra was soon to grow into a big tree.

Townships "humming with the music of muscles" was what Shri Nehru wanted. For this, muscles had to be trained and disciplined. Thus arose the three tenets of Shri Dey's faith : "Muscles can do it"; "Muscles can be trained to do it". "Conditions can be created to do it". The triple tenets of faith were to activate and support a triple charter of rights : "Right to live"; "Right to work for a living"; "Right to receive what a earned".

Mazdoor Manzil

To give a practical shape to this charter of rights, a new scheme—a more elaborate one—was drawn up. It came to be known as "Mazdoor Manzil". It was designed not only to rehabilitate the displaced persons all over the country, but as something even bigger as the Road to new India.

What is Mazdoor Manzil? The basic concept was to stop the one-way traffic of labour, material, skill and culture from villages to the town. To stop this harmful one-way traffic, a decentralised administration and a decentralised economy was necessary. This would eventually lead to an agro-industrial economy as the future economic pattern of the country. In the 20th century men cannot live by exploiting each other. They have to co-exist. In the pattern of Mazdoor Manzil, not only would there be equality between man and man, but there would be equality in treatment of the towns and the villages. No more would the town live at the expense of the village—which unfortunately has been happening so long.

The Nucleus Township

Mazdoor Manzil visualises a nucleus township with a population of about five thousand. The township will be linked up with the surrounding villages through communications. It will not only take from the villages what they have to offer, but will give, in turn, what

is needed most by them. The villages will export to the township their surplus agricultural produce and other commodities. In exchange they will get the materials they need and the services they require. These services are mostly technical in nature. Craftsmen and artisans, originally coming from the villages but trained in the town where there are facilities, would be sent back to the rural areas to help in their improvement. The township with the surrounding villages would not only be an economic unit but an unit of administration as well. Schematically, the urban population was set at 5,000 and the rural at 25,000.

The nucleus township was intended to include institutions for medical relief and sanitation; middle and high school education; technical and vocational training; veterinary aid; and agricultural extension embracing agriculture, horticulture, poultry, piggery, fishery, sheep breeding and other forms of animal husbandry. There would also be an electric sub-station, arts and crafts centre, shopping and marketing centres. The township would, moreover, provide recreational facilities through libraries, reading rooms, cinema, drama, music and other cultural activities.

The Surrounding Villages

In the village, the school would grow as the community centre. Agriculture, animal husbandry and the local crafts would all be taught in the village school. Both the children and the adults in the village would benefit from such a school. Under the existing circumstances a wholesale remodelling of the villages was not possible, nor necessary either. They were to be reconditioned and made better for living purposes. But the townships were to be built anew.

Financing the Project

The total scheme—for the township and the villages—was to cost Rs. 1½ crores. Of this, one crore would be spent on the township and 50 lakhs for the villages. The district was to be the unit for planning and development and tehsils were to be utilised for the purpose of revenue and administration of law and order. 'Mazdoor Manzil' thus visualised a decentralisation of the administrative structure at the level of population of 30,000.

Battle of the Marsh

Government sanctioned Rs. 5 lakhs as the first instalment towards the 'Mazdoor Manzil' scheme. The site had now to be selected. The Government offered a plot of land opposite the 85th mile-post on the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Ambala. The site was a marshy area. Its topography was like a saucer with raised land all around and a depression in the centre. During the monsoon all the water would be drained from the surrounding upland and collect there. In such land a thick jungle flourished, with 'Dhak' trees and inpenetrable bushes. This was naturally an ideal place for wild pigs and snakes. In old days dacoits and robbers had used it as a hide-out.

But there was no alternative. Work had to be started immediately. The offer was accepted.

The project started in right earnest. Within three days, a few sheds were constructed with rickety bamboo poles and worn-out tin sheets. Some tents were also pitched, both for housing the inmates of the camp as also to serve as the workshop for the vocational training and production centre. The jungle was cleared. Swamps were filled with earth. Snakes and pigs were killed. Lanes and colonies were demarcated. A few handpumps for drinking water were sunk. A three kW. electric generator acquired from Army Disposal was put up.

Within a month the area wore a new look. From marshy land it became a small township, humming with activity. Nilokheri took its place on the map of India.

Township Grows

The immediate task had been completed on an emergency basis. But Shri Dey and his associates were not satisfied. They had to think of the future. The tents, however, good they might be, gave a sense of temporariness. Moreover, a bad storm or cyclone or a fire could destroy them at any moment. A planned, permanent township had to be created. The services of a young town planner of the Central Public Works Department was requisitioned. He drew up a plan. Army sheds were secured from the Disposals dump; soon sheds were ready for housing the vocational training and work centre. The polytechnic started training people in right earnest so that they could help in constructing the township. Courses in a variety of occupations—from brick making to bakery—were offered in the polytechnic.

The area was scientifically surveyed. Roads were laid out. Houses were constructed. A generator was installed. Parks soon adorned the erea. The township started producing its own vegetables. Games sports and other forms of recreations were also given due attention.

By the beginning of 1950 the activities of the township had been fairly streamlined. The polytechnic and the vocational training centre formed the core of the township. The trainees hailed from among the prospective permanent residents of Nilokheri, from Kurukshetra and other refugee camps. They also came from surrounding villages.

Alongside technical and vocational training, work centres were started for all the crafts which were being taught in the training institutions at Nilokheri. Thus came into existence an engineering workshop, a mechanised wood working shop and a printing press. Weaving, calico printing, soap-making, laundering, tinsmithy, blacksmithy, general mechanics, leather tannery and a multitude of other crafts and trades began to flourish. Besides farming on a fairly extensive scale, a dairy, a piggery, a poultry farm and a horticulture section were set up. A naturopathy health centre was also established.

But man cannot live by bread alone. Attention was therefore also given to social welfare and cultural activity. An open-air theatre added colour to the scene. Local talent was invited to write and stage dramas there. Outdoor sports and games became a popular feature of life in the township.

A Pioneering Venture

Buildings, water, electricity, equipment and services were provided by the Government to all those willing to work for a living and organise themselves into groups for industrial production. All these facilities are now being provided in the industrial estates set up by the Government. In a way Nilokheri was thus a pioneer in the development of industrial estates. The extension services provided in the township were similarly fore-runners of what followed under the Community Development programme later on. Even the journal 'Kurukshetra', which is now the official organ of the Ministry of Community Development Panchayati Raj & Co-operation, started its career, as a weekly, at Nilokheri.

Shri Nehru visited Nilokheri once again. "I want ten thousand Nilokheries spread over the whole of India," he said.

Responsibility for production, management of supplies and for sale had to be entrusted as far as possible to democratic institutions of workers. Co-operatives offered such a democratic agency. Co-operatives of spinners, weavers, tailors, shoe-makers and other craftsmen came up by and by. The colony had a number of medium and small industries. These needed mechanisation for the better functioning. Improved machines were imported. This brought in some complex problems of organisation, management and technical skill.

Co-operative Activities

The co-operatives had their teething troubles. Though joining hands for a common purpose, the co-operators unfortunately could not imbibe the spirit of a joint family. There was also the difficulty that Nilokheri, being a small township, failed to offer a wide enough base for different types of co-operatives. A contradiction was growing from the very beginning. This contradiction was in all spheres —technical, managerial and ideological.

For example, a sales co-operatives was formed. It could not solve all the problems of marketing. One single unit could not deal with the varied items of production. It resulted in confusion and inefficiency. Nor were the resources of the township big enough to allow special agencies to be set up for each group of products.

It was soon realised that if the produce of the township had to compete successfully in the open market, there was need for planned allocation of spheres of responsibility. It meant organisation of some of the industries under the Government, some under private management and others by co-operatives. Industries which required special skill for management and which would have a vital impact on the economy of the colony, were decided to be vested in the Government. The engineering workshop mechanised wood work shop and the printing press were accordingly taken over under Government management. Small industries were handed over to enterprising and skilled technicians in the colony. Farmland in the colony was entrusted to individual farmers at the rate of six acres per head. They also received bullocks, implements and a small amount of capital.

Activities in which there would not be wide gulf separating the skill and the emoluments of the supervisor and the manager from the common run of workers, were decided to be retained under co-operative management.

Panchayat Revitalised

Side by side with co-operative activities, the activities of the Panchayat were also revitalised. The Panchayat was to look after the political and social aspects of community life in the colony, even as the co-operative was looking after the economic aspect. It was given the responsibility for law and order, sanitation and community welfare, including assistance to the weaker sections of the community. The Panchayat was to act as the forum for the grievances and complaints of the people. There were special sub-committees of the Panchayat to plan and supervise its various activities. Thus were the seeds of functional sub-committees, which adorn the Panchayati Raj Scheme to-day, sown in the little township of Nilokheri.

But Nilokheri could not live as a progressive, prosperous island in the midst of an ocean of poverty and ignorance. Its limbs—the villages—had to grow simultaneously. That require qualified and specialised manpower, both administrative and technical. Shri Nehru had demanded thousands of Nilokheries. The scheme submitted to him in this connection drew attention to the existing position regarding manpower and emphasised the need for trained personnel. A committee was formed to examine the scheme, and it endorsed the soundness of the basic hypothesis that India had to be built up on the basis of an agro-industrial economy, with reciprocity between rural and urban areas which should develop as integral, complementary, parts of a well-balanced system.

Nilokheri Survives a Crisis

Soon Nilokheri was facing trouble. Construction work in the township—on residential as also community buildings and other programmes such as road building. laying of electric lines, drainage and sanitation—was coming to a close. The mechanical and wood workshop, the biggest industry till then at Nilokheri, began to face serious difficulties. To solve the immediate problem of marketing of its produce, the factory was handed over to a private entrepreneur. A ready-made garment factory, under private auspices, was also started. This offered employment to nearly a hundred workers. But though the private sector was thriving, the dwindling of construction work led to unemployment in the colony. The situation was made worse when outsiders were given jobs by the private entrepreneurs in reference to Nilokheri people.

For some time the Panchayat had been spreading light in the surrounding darkness. It was doing good work for community welfare and its administration of justice was impartial. But with the growing unemployment and other problems coming up in the colony, the local leaders became a party to the indiscipline then prevailing at the

township. Things were going from bad to worse. Nilokheri's well-wishers, who were well acquainted with the lofty ideology behind its construction, became worried.

Shri Nehru visited Nilokheri for the third time in March 1951. He was in touch with the happenings at Nilokheri; Shri S. K. Dey kept him fully informed. The township rose as one man to welcome Shri Nehru. In his parting speech he repeated once again: "I have seen one Nilokheri from its birth to its present development. I am deeply struck by the effort made by the people to revive themselves and build their future. I want 9999 Nilokheries to implement the message of Nilokheri."

Bigger Arena

The U.S. Government offered 50 million dollars as aid to India in 1951. The American Ambassador, Chester Bowles, realised that India lived in her villages and that the villages should be revived first if India was to develop. He visited Etawah, and spoke to the Prime Minister about the offer of the U.S. Government. Shri Nehru asked him to contact Shri S. K. Dey and have a look at the organisational pattern of Nilokheri. Chester Bowles paid a visit accordingly, and went away deeply impressed. It was clear to him that if a country-wide rural programme was to be initiated it would have to be based on the joint experiences at Etawah and Nilokheri. Shri S. K. Dey, builder of Nilokheri, was asked to work out a scheme for this purpose and submit it for the consideration both of the U. S. Ambassador and the Government of India. He submitted the scheme, which was accepted by the Government. He had to go away from Nilokheri to a wider field when he was given a bigger responsibility—as Administrator of India's Community Projects scheme.

Nilokheri Today

The township was subsequently handed over to the Government of East Punjab with adequate safeguards for the institutions and inhabitants of Nilokheri. The Government undertook to bear the burden of essential liabilities for the period it was considered unavoidable. The administration of the township was fully integrated with the Rehabilitation Department of the Punjab Government.

Nilokheri now has a population of over 8,000, according to the census of 1961. There is substantially full employment in the township. There is a spirit of fellow feeling between man and man in the community. Rivalries based on community, caste or creed are practically unknown in the colony. The economy of the township is geared predominantly round private and State enterprise, co-operatives having receded to some extent.

The economy of the township has been linked up with the rest of the country. Nilokheri has paid back a substantial part of the investment made on the colony, and is continuing to pay the balance. It is offering facilities for training and education of workers in the Community Development programme.

The significance of the Nilokheri experiment was summed up in these words by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in a message to the anniversary issue of 'Kurukshetra' in October 1953 :

"All over India we have centres of human activity which are like lamps spreading their light more and more in the surrounding darkness. This light has to grow till it covers the land. Among these centres, there is Nilokheri which has achieved a good deal of fame in India and outside. That brings a greater responsibility on Nilokheri and on other like centres. They are the examples for others to follow and they must keep up high standards because it is quality that will tell in the end, not the quantity."

THE ORIGINAL FIFTEEN PILOT EXTENSION PROJECTS

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

In drawing up the First Year Plan, the Planning Commission recommended that the nation give high priority to shaping and carrying out a national rural development programme. The suggestion was made that a portion of the villages be put under intensive development and that the remainder be brought under some form of less intensive development. Since the First Plan was essentially keyed to overcoming the long-standing threat of famine and food shortages, it was proposed that the rural development programmes have a heavy agricultural bias. However, with the nation's limited success in its earlier "Grow More Food" campaigns (1949-53), the planners recognized that villager's response would continue to be limited, if a rural programme emphasized food production simply for the sake of increasing food production, and paid little or no attention to other aspects and needs of the village.

A People's Programme

Underlying the planners' thoughts was the need for shaping a village development programme which might, if successful, begin a simultaneous and united attack on India's basic problem of hunger, disease and ignorance. In considering approaches, the planners were clear that while the programme would have to be organized and directed through Government, the programme's success would depend on the people's accepting it as a self-help programme in which they themselves would have to take leadership—leadership in getting their village as a whole to adopt improved and tested agricultural, health, educational, and family living practices and programmes.

While the planners had not defined any exact approach, the inference was clear that the methods were to be educational and that all the technical ministries and departments of Government, with services touching on village life, were to be coordinated as resources to help the village people find solutions to their problems.

In placing high priority on a rural development programme, the planners were in a sense hoping to fulfil a long-standing pledge which the leader of India had repeatedly made to the people during the nation's struggle for independence. In reading the records of India's struggle for independence, one finds that the leaders repeatedly reassured the people that while they, the people, must if necessary suffer unto death to gain freedom, when freedom was won the leaders and the new Government would exert all possible efforts to improve living conditions for all.

Objective

Of equal importance in the underlying philosophy of the projected rural programme was the knowledge that the new nation had

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limited financial resources to contribute to any single development programme. Any rural development effort must, to be judged successful, rely on the people to exert themselves for development as they had for independence. The strengthening of India's people as free self-reliant citizens capable and eager to contribute to the growth of new democratic India was, in the planners view, the objective to be achieved through a national rural development programme. The planners wisely felt that as the people began to accept responsibility and were guided, through educational programmes, to intelligent decisions, they themselves would learn increasingly to rely on scientific knowledge. Thus, it was felt the people themselves would begin to adopt improved methods to raise more abundant crops, and made a better living, achieve a higher level of family and village community life.

Contribution from the Ford Foundation

It is out of this background that the original fifteen pilot extension areas discussed in August 1951 and approved in December 1951 had their birth. The programmes were to be organized under the leadership of the Centre and State Ministries of Food and Agriculture and financed by a Ford Foundation's grant of $ 1,200,000.

Within six months after Paul Hoffman became President of the newly reformed and expanded Ford Foundation he, along with John Cowles. Trustee of the Foundation. Chester Davis, Vice-President, and John Howard of the staff visited India at the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru. The purpose of this trip was to discuss what the Foundation, as a private American philanthropic organization, might do to assist New India in its development.

From these discussions with the Planning Commission, there emerged the suggestion that the Foundation provide highly flexible grant funds so the Centre Government could take up with the States an experimental rural development programme. The specific proposal was to set up in each of fifteen major states, pilot rural development areas of 100 villages each. While these were to be distinctly "pilot" areas, there was also the hope that the villagers' response and the Government's efforts to assist the people would soon indicate the desirability of setting up additional extension projects, possibly on an India-wide basis. The Government was sufficiently confident that the hope would be realized to ask that Foundation funds be used to set up five centres to train village extension workers. The idea was that upon graduation, these workers would be available to staff additional projects.

Reaching the decision to recommend Foundation support for the pilot projects and the training centres was given as my priority concern when I came to India in November 1951, as newly-appointed Ford Foundation Representative in India. John Howard, who accompanied Paul Hoffman in August and was familiar with the earlier discussions returned to India with me, and helped to develop the detailed plans and budget requirements for the pilot projects and training centres. Mr. Howard and I also had the help of Raymond Mayer who had just joined the Foundation following many years of

successful village developmental experience in China and Formosa. An informal agreement to organize the pilot areas and five centres was reached in November 1951.

Based on the recommendation of the Delhi office, final formal decision on the grant was to be made by the Foundation Trustees in the United States, at their scheduled meeting on December 17, 1951. It was to be the Foundation's first grant for national development under the new overseas programme. Because of the Government of India's eagerness to get the experiment under way immediately, the Foundation encouraged the Government to go ahead working with the states in selecting the pilot areas and in preparatory budget talks. As a result, by the time the Foundation in the United States cabled the Indian Government on December 17, 1951, giving approval of the grant of $ 1,200,000 the Central Government had reached an agreement with most of the chosen states on organization of the pilot projects on the areas to be selected, on staffing patterns and budgets. With the Foundation grant funds approved, the Central Government had only to formalize the arrangements which had been informally agreed to.

Setting up Evaluation Unit

During this same period in the autumn of 1951, discussions were also held on the importance of establishing an independent evaluation unit to record and evaluate the progress being made and problems encountered by the pilot projects, and by any new extension areas, which, it was hoped, would be added as trained village workers were turned out from five training centres.

The plans for setting up this evaluation unit were finalized in November 1951. The planned evaluation unit was to focus its attention on :

1. Determining which extension methods were proving effective and which were not. This was to be done for the guidance of those concerned with planning and carrying out the community development programme—at the Centre and in the several States and project areas. Particular attention was given to determine why some recommended practices are adopted by villagers while others are rejected. It was expected that the results of these analyses would be useful to extension workers and villagers outside the intensive development areas a guides to more efficient methods.
2. Measuring the accomplishments of the development programme in terms of increased production, lower incidence of disease, increased participation in community activities, etc.
3. Furnishing the insight into the effect of the intensive developments projects on the economy and culture of India, that was so essential to anticipate any emerging problems obstacles that would prevent continuing economic and social progress.
4. Providing an objective basic for informed public opinion regarding the community development programme.

When the Nation took the decision to launch its massive community development programme, the evaluation unit was immediately broadened and assigned the task of evaluating all community and national extension programmes.

When the idea of the pilot areas was being discussed and the possible methods of administering them were being considered, the Planning Commission had in view the long-term administrative direction of a nation-wide rural development programme. It recommended that the Central Ministry of Agriculture take the leadership in working with States in organizing the pilot projects and training centres. In turn, the Ministry, in order to have the maximum flexibility in making administrative decisions and in dispersing Foundation grant funds to the States, placed the immediate organizational responsibility with the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

Thus it is to the people in the Indian Council of Agricultural Research that credit is due for taking quick and realistic decisions in selecting the States, agreeing on the location of areas for both development and training, the approving, stating patterns and budgets. These men are :

K. R. Damle, then Vice-President of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, (now Secretary of the Ministry of Mines and Fuel); J.V.A. Nehemiah then Secretary of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, (now Adviser under Food and Agriculture Organisation at Rome); S. C. Roy, who, as the then newly-appointed Extension Commissioner was the guiding influence in getting the projects and training centres organized and in operation in record time, (Mr. Roy has since become Adviser on Community Development to the Government of Ghana).

Organisation and Staffing Pattern

The organization and administrative pattern of the pilot blocks was roughly as follows: the block in each State would be under the general supervision of the State Extension Directors who had just been newly appointed. Under the State Director, an agricultural officer (where possible one with some extension training or experience) was in most of the States placed in immediate charge of the block. In some States, this officer worked full-time at the pilot block's headquarters (this proved to be the most successful arrangement); in others the officer could give only part-time to the pilot work. The officer was intended to co-ordinate and supervise the work of the three other agricultural technicians and the 10-12 village level workers assigned to each block. Apart from agriculture, no specific technical staff was assigned to the pilot blocks. The health education, and PWD co-operatives, and other departments in each State concerned with rural services, would, it was hoped, co-operate with the projects by assigning specific personnel out of their own departmental budgets. The budget provided for the pilot blocks was small—about Rs. 1,19,000 per block—a fifteenth of the amount provided later for the intensive community project blocks, about a sixth that provided for the later less intensive NES blocks (into which the pilot projects were eventually converted).

The Foundation grant was to meet the full recurring and non-recurring costs (except for the land and buildings to be provided by the State Governments) for the first two years, half the third year (with the State and Central Governments meeting the other half), and State and Central support in full assured for two more years. Thus the pilot projects were originally intended to run for five years in all.

With this organizational and administrative set-up pilot projects were from the start looked to for guidance in helping the Government reach some early decisions on a number of fundamental issues in the Planning Commissions recommendation for undertaking a national rural development programme.

Some of these fundamental policy questions were the following:

1. What administrative problems would be involved in developing a national village development programme indicated by the Central Government and administered by the States that presented to and conducted in each village as a self-help programme ?
2. What would be the response of Government people in a project requiring the approach of education and persuasion rather than giving commands and expecting obedience ?
3. What kind of experience, training and supervision would be rather than giving commands and expecting obedience ?
4. What relative emphasis should be placed on agriculture, health and education ?
5. If one department (agriculture) was given the leadership and direction of the projects, could it get the cooperation of the other technical ministries and departments needed in all-round village development programme ?
6. What should be the orientation of village worker ? Should he be a multi-purpose man serving as the main contact point with village people and the project staff ?
7. How many villages should a given village worker be expected to cover ?
8. What would be the response of village people to participating in a self-help programme organized through Government ?
9. Under a self-help programme how much money would be required for development ?
10. For the training centres the basic question was: how to train a multi-purpose village worker in the techniques of education and persuasion necessary to stimulate villagers into adopting new practices, taking leadership and working together to solve village problems ?
11. What role should panchayats and cooperative play ?
12. How should the programme be evaluated ?

The pilot projects actually started in the field from April through September 1952. For most of them therefore planning was well advanced when, by March and April 1952, the Planning Commission recommended the establishment of a Community Projects administration, under the Planning Commission, that would organize 55 community projects of 300 villages each. The intensive community projects programme was to be officially inaugurated on Gandhi's birthday, October 2, 1952.

From the time pilot projects were first discussed on to early 1954, they maintained their "pilot" character. However, with the launching of the community projects in October and with the national spotlight focussed on this new and intensive effort, the experimental projects began to lose their pilot emphasis. By 1954, they were no longer thought of as pilot areas and were therefore integrated into the National Extension Service (NES) arm of the community development programme, with Foundation funds no longer required.

Even though the life-span of the original fifteen areas was brief—about 2½ years as "pilot" projects they did provide at least suggestive answers to many important questions on how a rural village development programme might be carried out as a priority effort under India's First Year Plan.

Lessons from the Pilot Project

Some of the most important contributions which the pilot projects made to the philosophy and approach to village development are the following:

1. That the village worker should be multi-purpose in his village assignment was early proven to be both feasible and desirable. This confirmed India's original recommendations on rural development as proposed in early drafts of the First Year Plan.
2. While in many cases the villagers first response to a Government servant's asking them to join in a self-help programme was hostile and reluctant, persistence in demonstrated sincerity won the people's interest. What was demonstrated therefore was that when the people were approached in a friendly, sincere way, they would respond to self-help programmes, Government—initiated and staffed.
3. Village people revealed early that when new farming methods and other improved practices could be demonstrated under village conditions, villagers would give preference to the new ways over their old less productive methods.
4. Early and continuous responses from village people clearly showed that they would respond to educational methods.
5. The initial working of the projects showed that all project staff must be oriented to the objectives of the programme, that each should be well trained to do their respective technical jobs, and all that must be thoroughly trained in the use of extension methods.

6. The initial assignment of five villages to one village extension worker proved to provide an area of about the right size.

7. While the health and education departments of the various States had agreed to cooperate by assigning additional staff to the pilot areas, early experience revealed that such staff would have to be part of the budgeted staffing pattern of each project. In short, it was clear that unless special budgetary provisions were made by the project itself, the departments might not release and assign special people to the project areas.

8. The need for a limited amount of uncommitted funds, to contribute to village development programmes, such as schools and road building would have been a useful addition to the projects. However, the progress made by the projects even without special funds for such development work, demonstrated that to emphasize on education and persuasion can alone go far toward solving a problem.

9. The projects demonstrated early the wisdom of having a broad-based approach to rural development as a whole, so that the people's felt needs and expressed interest in many aspects of their lives could be the basis of a new outlook and the beginning of general development.

10. Two of the fifteen pilot projects took up early village youth programmes and have contributed a great deal to the nation's experience. This and some subsequent experience has now led to a decision to train all village workers in youth activities and to add organization and servicing of youth clubs as programme objectives for all villages.

11. The first five training centres demonstrated early that to train multi-purpose workers the training staff must be made up of agriculturist health and social educators and that the emphasis should be on the village problems. This initial experience also revealed that the best training could be done when the instructors were able to take the trainees to the villages for as much as 50 per cent of the training time and there help apply the lessons taught in the class-room.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of these original pilot projects was that, as the Centre and States worked out their organization, many people began to think clearly and urgently about the importance of involving village people in the building of New India. Certainly as the nation's leaders faced the problems of rural development, it became crystal clear that the administrative servants of Government could never, without the intelligent leadership and sustained efforts and cooperation of the people themselves, achieve the development the people had felt they could expect when India became free.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

When India became independent, it was imperative to bring the small communities of villages into the orbit of a democratic structure with a view to moulding their thoughts and behaviour into patterns compatible with the modern age of science and technology. The constitution laid down "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life".

Community Development Programme was a step towards the realisation of that objective. It was defined as "the process by which the efforts of the people are united with those of the governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress". Activising the individual and the community to strive for self-improvement, making use of the available government assistance, but dependent largely on self-help, is its central purpose, and people's participation is the key-note of its programme.

Genesis

Several experiments in rural reconstruction undertaken by official and non-official agencies in the past proved the beneficial effect of intensive area projects in which activities in various fields of development were closely integrated. Rural reconstruction activities of Mahatma Gandhi and Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Y.M.C.A. project at Martandam and the work done at Gurgaon and Baroda, Nilokheri, Etawah and Faridabad may particularly be mentioned in this context. The Planning Commission set up by the Government of India recognised these efforts in their Draft Outline of the First Five Year Plan in 1951.

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee (1952) observed that "All aspects of rural life were inter-related" and that while particular problems might call for special attention, "the Plans for them should form parts of and be integrated with those for achieving the wider aims". The recommendations of this Committee were responsible to a very large extent in shaping the extension approach which became an essential vehicle of the Community Development Programme in India. It was felt that if the central aim of community development was investment in man, an integrated extension service should be the principal means to that end and that scientific knowledge and techniques should be carried to the people through the extension agency. The First Five Year Plan gave recognition to this new approach in the following words

> "Community Development is the method and rural extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages".

The Indo-U.S. Technical Cooperation Agreement of January, 1952 enabled a real beginning to be made in this direction. 55 Community Projects spread over the country with a substantial dose of development expenditure, were taken up as the first step in a programme of intensive development which, in course of time, was to cover the entire country. The Community Development thus ushered in the rural dimension of India's developmental planning.

Aims and objectives

The main objectives of the programme were:

(a) Area Development—with a minimum all round progress;

(b) Self-help programme—People's participation being the essential feature;

(c) Development of the whole community with special emphasis on the weaker and the under privileged sections.

The programme was taken up in a Block of about 100 villages, with a population of about 70,000 and covering an area of roughly 250 sq. miles. On that basis, the entire country was delimited into 5,223 Blocks.

The Programme and its content

The aim of community development was to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of the area, and thereby raise the rural community to higher levels of living. A rapid expansion in food and other agricultural production was prescribed as the primary objective of the programme since the shortage of food and raw materials was the greatest single weakness of the country's economy. Allied to this objective was that of the development of cottage and small scale industries for the purpose of providing employment to the non-agricultural classes who were not fully employed. It was realised, of course, that the problem of production and employment could not be solved satisfactorily without tackling the other needs of the villagers. Emphasis was, therefore, laid on the improvement of health and sanitation, provision of housing facilities, promotion of educational and other social welfare activities. It was also recognised that the lack of proper communication was a serious obstacle to the development of such facilities and provision of proper communication was also laid down as one of the objectives of this programme. Furthermore, considerable stress was placed on the importance of training agriculturists, artisans and extension workers of various kinds for the proper implementation of the programme. But more important than all this, was the realisation that what was required was a change in the mental outlook of the people, the instilling in them of an ambition for higher standards. This was essentially the human problem of changing the outlook of 70 million families living in the countryside, arouse enthusiasm in them with the ambition and the will to live a better life.

Community Development and Panchayati Raj

The target of covering the entire country under Community Development Programme was achieved by October, 1963. Thus, the first phase of the process of Community Development that of establishing a co-ordinated structure of extension services and the provision of minimum frame of development, was completed.

The second phase of development was the creation and development of democratic institutions at the district, block and village levels to take over the responsibility of development. The process of completing the second phase started on 2nd October, 1959 when Panchayati Raj was introduced in Rajasthan. This was followed by Andhra Pradesh. Madras, Mysore, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. The process is about to be completed in the whole country with the introduction of Panchayati Raj in the remaining States as well.

The Third Plan had enumerated : "One of the principal tasks in the Third Plan will be to ensure the growth and working of Panchayati Raj Institutions so as to enable each area to realise its maximum development potential on the basis of the local manpower and other resources, cooperation, self-help and community effort, and effective use of available resources and personnel". The significance of this directive under the Plan has been the under-current of various programmes which have been evolved and taken up through the agency of Community Development Blocks and Panchayati Raj institutions.

Starting with this base, the agricultural production continues to be the main focuss of the community development activities through the Panchayat at the village level, the Panchayat Samiti at the Block level and the Zila Parishad at the district level. The key-note of the implementation of plans for agricultural production has been the realisation that these Panchayati Raj bodies as peoples' representative institutions at the local level can best mobilise the village community in the task of maximising production in agriculture as also in every other field.

The merger of the erstwhile Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation and that of Ministry of Food, Agriculture, into a composite Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation in early 1966 was indicative of the increasing attention paid to the programmes of augmenting agricultural production in the country.

Of the three basic components of agricultural production, *viz.*, inputs, organisational and administrative arrangements and extension of improved practices, the community development agency is primary concerned with the last. Panchayati Raj bodies (units of Local Self Government) are also involved in institutional devices to mobilize the village people for increasing agricultural production. Only with the increase in agricultural productivity could new sources of capital formation be released which could lead to diversification of economy and specially help in agro-industrial development. Only through such a process can there be socio-economic transformation and reconstruction of rural economy.

The programme of community development has assisted the farmers in a variety of ways. The foremost was to raise agriculture above the subsistence level by making it independent of rains. Accordingly much attention was devoted to promoting minor irrigation works. As a result the net additional area likely to be brought under cultivations in 1966 will be 2,932,000 hectares. This should help in giving the farmers two crops as against one which they had been raising under dry farming. Again with better irrigation facilities, and economic gains, the improvements become possible. The community development agency has helped the farmers realise the importance of better seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and other improved practices as well.

Minor Irrigation

Programmes for minor irrigation have also received high priority. Besides the departmental funds for minor irrigation schemes, routed through the Block agency, a good part of the entire programme funds available in the schematic Block Budget are also utilised on irrigation and reclamation schemes. Small works, like construction of wells, renovation of tanks, installation of pumpsets, tubewells and lift irrigation projects are being taken up in large numbers. It is estimated that minor irrigation works carried out in the Blocks provided additional irrigation potential of 1.34 million hectares during the year ending June, 1967 alone as against 1.16 million hectares during year ending June, 1966; the average area per Block provided with additional irrigation worked out to 286 hectares in 1966-67, as against 244 hectares in 1965-66, showing an increase of 15%.

Village and Small Scale Industries

With a view to diversifying the rural economy, attention has been given to the promotion of industries in the rural areas according to local availability of raw materials and other facilities. In pursuance of the programme of village industries sponsored by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the target of a minimum of four village industries per Block has been reached in almost all the States; the attempt now is to set up eight village industries per Block.

Health and Family Planning

Till 30th June 1968, 4,995 primary Health Centres have actually been established, covering 5191 of the 5,200 developmental Blocks in the country; shortages of medical and Para-medical staff, however, continued.

Family Planning has been accorded high priority in the Block programmes. The Panchayati Raj institutions and the Block agency played a vital role, in coordination with the functionaries of the Health Department, in the motivational aspects of the Family Planning effort. According to the available information, there are 29,075 rural family welfare planning centres, of which 4,683 are main centres, 16,198 sub-centres and 8,194 other medical centres which distribute contraceptives.

Special Programme

In the drive for food production, emphasis is also placed on schemes which will augment the production of subsidiary foods,

The Applied Nutrition programme is one. Undertaking intensive fisheries programme forms part of it and so does poultry raising, both on commercial basis and in the individual's backyards. With the coordinated development already achieved in the Community Development area and people's bodies shouldering increasing responsibility, an intensive approach has been adopted in regard to selected programmes in selected areas with a view to achieving rapid results in different fields.

Applied Nutrition Programme

The Applied Nutrition Programme being implemented with the assistance of UNISEF, FAO and WHO in 221 blocks into 3rd Plan period and 134 in '66-67, 175 in '67-68 and 202 in '68-69, emphasises the intensive approach. The programme aims at increased production at the village level of various productive foods and the training and education of the villagers in the production preparation and preservation of these foods. Free feeding of vulnerable groups of population *viz.*, pre-school and school children, pregnant women and nursing mothers is an essential part of the programme. The Working Group on Community Development and Panchayati Raj has recommended that the programme may be expanded to 1,500 additional blocks during the 4th Five Year Plan commencing in 1969.

In selecting the new blocks preference is to be given to tribal blocks and areas with pronounced economic and nutritional backwardness. Since it is only sustained local effort that can make a nutritional programme enduring, it is useful to implement the applied nutrition programme in areas under high-yielding variety programme.

Women's Programme

Community Development cannot ignore women, who make half of the community. Thus the emphasis on special programmes for women. Women's organisation could be activised through the Applied Nutrition Programme, school feeding schemes, family and child welfare projects and allied programmes sponsored by the Central Social Welfare Board. For the programme to be effective, it has to be ensured that women functionaries are available at different levels.

Rural Manpower Programme

The Rural Manpower Programme has the twin advantage of building up agricultural activity and giving relief to the seasonably unemployed. This is implemented in selected areas as a supplement to various plan projects which would have their own employment potential. The endeavour is to integrate the programme with the total development effort in the area. The content of the programme include productive, labour intensive agricultural schemes and also infrastructure facilities like market roads and is by and large concentrated in backward areas. Considering the character of the programme and its special focus on the creation of community assets, Panchayati Raj institutions are being made responsible for its implementation. As part of the Manpower programme, the possibility of a deliberate promotion of skills in the younger element of the rural working force, particularly those who have had some school education, and their mobilisation for large developmental programmes is being explored. The question of formation should be viewed against

the long-term perspective of the needed transition of a sizeable proportion of the rural working force from agriculture to secondary and tertiary activities. The object should be to create an organised crops of skilled workers by providing on the job training in various development projects. Imparting of skills could also be purposefully linked up with schemes for Panchayat industries and services which may afford opportunities for utilisation of the skills acquired. Rural Manpower programme is now under implementation in 1,000 blocks. During the Third Plan period the programme should have generated about 80 million man-days of employment.

Staffing

In each Block, there is a Block Development Officer who is a trained administrator. He is the head of a team of eight technical experts, known as the Extension Officers. They look after agriculture, animal husbandry, cottage industries, rural engineering, public health, cooperation, panchayats and social education. There are 12 village level workers in each Block including two women workers. They maintain liaison between the village people and the team at the Block level.

Two stages of Programme

Two stages in the programme, namely, Stage I and Stage II were introduced. Stage I was the intensive development phase in which people's participation would be promoted as the method of Community Development, and Panchayats intimately connected with the formulation of plans for their respective areas. The degree of success attained in the First Stage would be the evidence of the growth and functioning of self-reliant rural communities which is the basic objective of the programme. Accordingly, Stage II, which is the Post-Intensive phase, has been designed to intensify the operation of the method of Community Development in its fuller amplitude and the comparatively small schematic budget purported to make provision only for such times in which the emphasis is more on Community Development rather than on development programmes as such.

Finance

The first stage is of five years with a financial provision of Rs. 1.2 million, to be followed up by a second stage of five years with a financial provision of Rs. 5,00,000

Total allotment for the programme during the First Plan was Rs. 965 million. As against this, the government expenditure was Rs. 462 million and the people's participation in cash, kind and labour came to Rs. 251 million. During the Second Plan, as against the Plan outlay of Rs. 2,013 million, the government expenditure was Rs. 1,890 million and the people's contribution Rs. 771 million. The outlay on the programme during the Third Plan was Rs. 3,217 million.

Evaluation

The Community Development Programme now encompasses the whole country.

A programme of the magnitude of community development needs to be under continuous review and evaluation so that deficiencies may be corrected in time and suitable remedial measures taken. Therefore, an independent body known as the Programme Evaluation Organisation with the assistance of the Ford Foundation has been set up under the Planning Commission. This Organisation constantly evaluates the working of this programme. The annual reports of the Programme Evaluation Organisation have been of great value in ensuring that the basic objectives are not lost sight of and that correctives are applied speedily.

From time to time, the Government of India have also appointed other bodies to review and advise on this programme. Notable among them was the Committee on Plan Projects in 1958 which recommended the introduction of democratic decentralisation in the country. In addition, the teams set up by the United Nations have studied the programme apart from leading individual workers and sociologists. Their observations and comments have been of great assistance.

Integrated Approach

The concept of rural development in India has grown round the assumption that a community development block will constitute the primary unit for the planning and execution of the development programmes where a number of technical experts work with a Block Development Officer, advising on and executing in a coordinated way programmes, as approved by the People's representatives in the local government. At the district level similar coordination is provided by the Collector who acts on the advice and directions of the District Council. At the State level there is a new functionary called the Development Commissioner. He is a senior administrative officer of wide experience and knowledge who coordinates the policies and programmes of the different departments of the government at the State level and in turn advises the State Cabinet in matters relating to policy and coordination.

Problems relating to the respective roles of the technical personnel and the general administrator keep on cropping up from time to time. They are inevitable during periods of change in the system of administration. There is both vertical and horizontal consultation and coordination which is a new feature of democratic public administration in India now. This system has been working for quite some time and, on the whole, has proved successful.

At the Centre is the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation. Besides laying down the general pattern of development under the community development and cooperative programmes, this Ministry is concerned with the task of training a vast number of people, both officials and non-officials. In its deliberations, the Ministry is guided by the Central Committee which is headed by the Prime Minister and consists of Ministers of different development departments.

Training

The requirements of official workers for the Community Development Programme are estimates at 2,00,000. They include 50,000

village level workers, 10,000 lady village level workers and 5,000 each of block Development Officers, Block Level Extension Officers in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Industries and Cooperation, Social Education Organisers, Doctors, Compounders, Sanitary Inspectors and Lady Health Visitors. In addition, it is estimated that about 2.5 million elected representatives engaged in Community Development Programme will be required. They are members and Presidents of local self governing institutions from the village to the district level. In addition, about 5,00,000 youth leaders and an equal number of women workers and about 5 million village leaders would be necessary for the programme.

A training programme for all these people, to be handled at various levels, is itself a programme of vast magnitude. There are about 300 training centres in India to impart training to different categories of personnel.

Training in Community Development has two aspects : General and Special. The latter relates to specialised job training for community development personnel. The other type is the orientation training for all those who are engaged in community development work. This helps to develop in them a broad-based aptitude and outlook which is so essential for extending some knowledge to the people in different fields. It also helps in creating among them a clearer understanding of the programme and strengthening their faith in objectives of Community Development. With the introduction of local self-government or Panchayati Raj, steps have been taken to intensify the orientation training of civil servants as also non-officials who participate jointly.

The training is supervised by the National Council of Study and Research in Community Development which is in over-all charge of training and education of both officials and non-officials. This Council is headed by the Minister of Community Development and consists of Members of Parliament, other important non-officials and officials representing the various Ministries of the Central and State Governments.